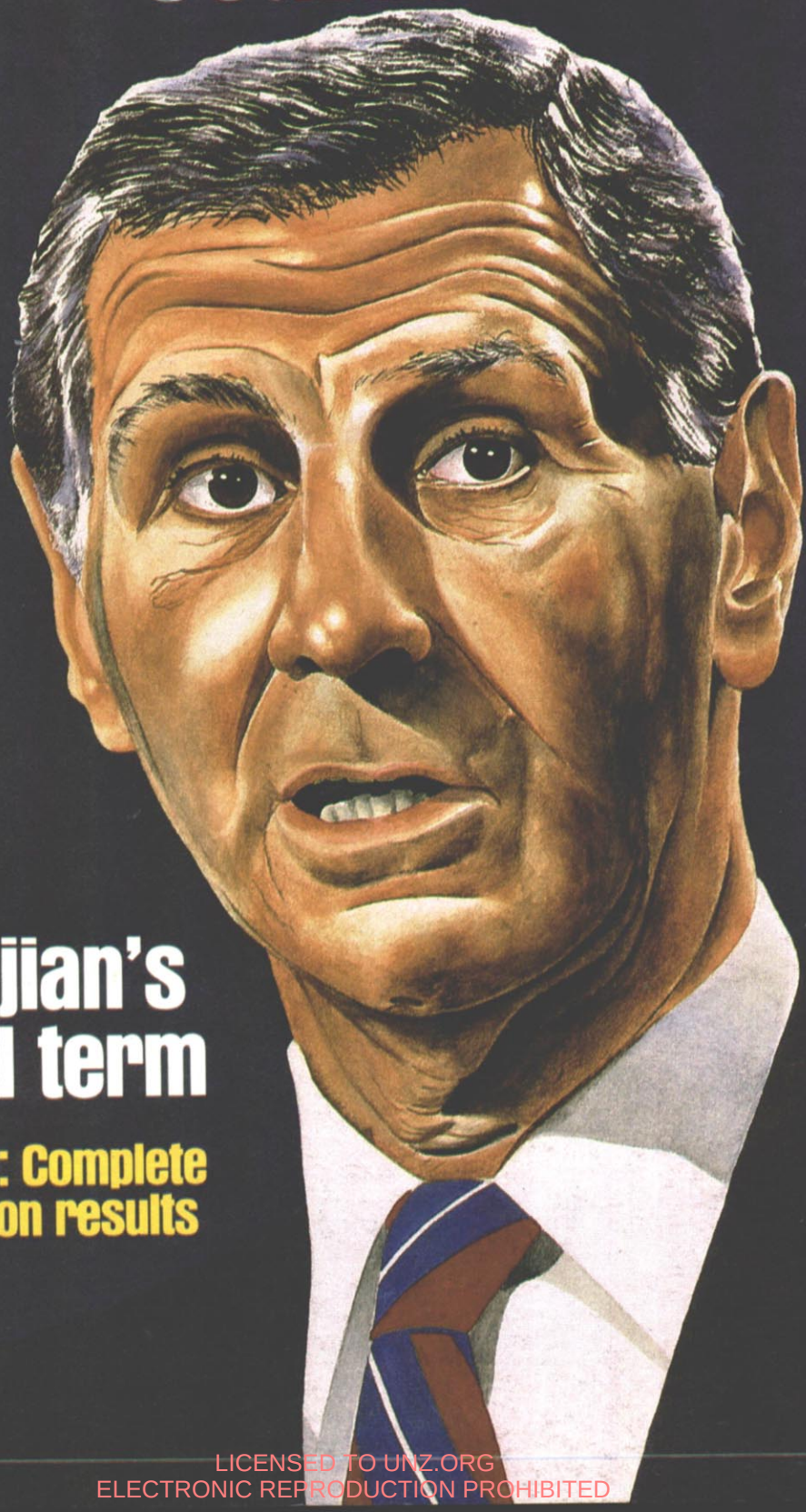
ne pot of gold:
etting rich in politics

ANALYSIS OF STATE GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

DECEMBER 1986 $2.50

CALIFORNIA Journal



Deukmejian's second term

Inside: Complete election results

0 74470 19299 12

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

California's future makes a great present

You are now reading the guide to the state's political future, otherwise known as the **California Journal.** The main purpose of most **Journal** articles is to foresee developments in the world of California government. Why not share these foresights with your friends and relatives by giving them a gift subscription during the holiday season?

The **Journal** makes an ideal present for anyone who is or should be interested in California public affairs — and it keeps coming 12 months a year at a price that can meet any budget. You pay only $19 for each gift subscription. That's a saving of $3 over the regular price.

We will send a card to each recipient informing him or her of your thoughtfulness. Just send your gift list with a check or your Visa/MasterCard number to our subscription department at 1714 Capitol Ave., Sacramento 95814. We'll do the rest. (If you prefer, we'll bill you.)

ANOTHER SUGGESTION

Books from the California Journal Press also make wonderful holiday gifts.

Advertisement

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

When California voters said "no" to Prop. 61, they said "yes" to quality in state government.

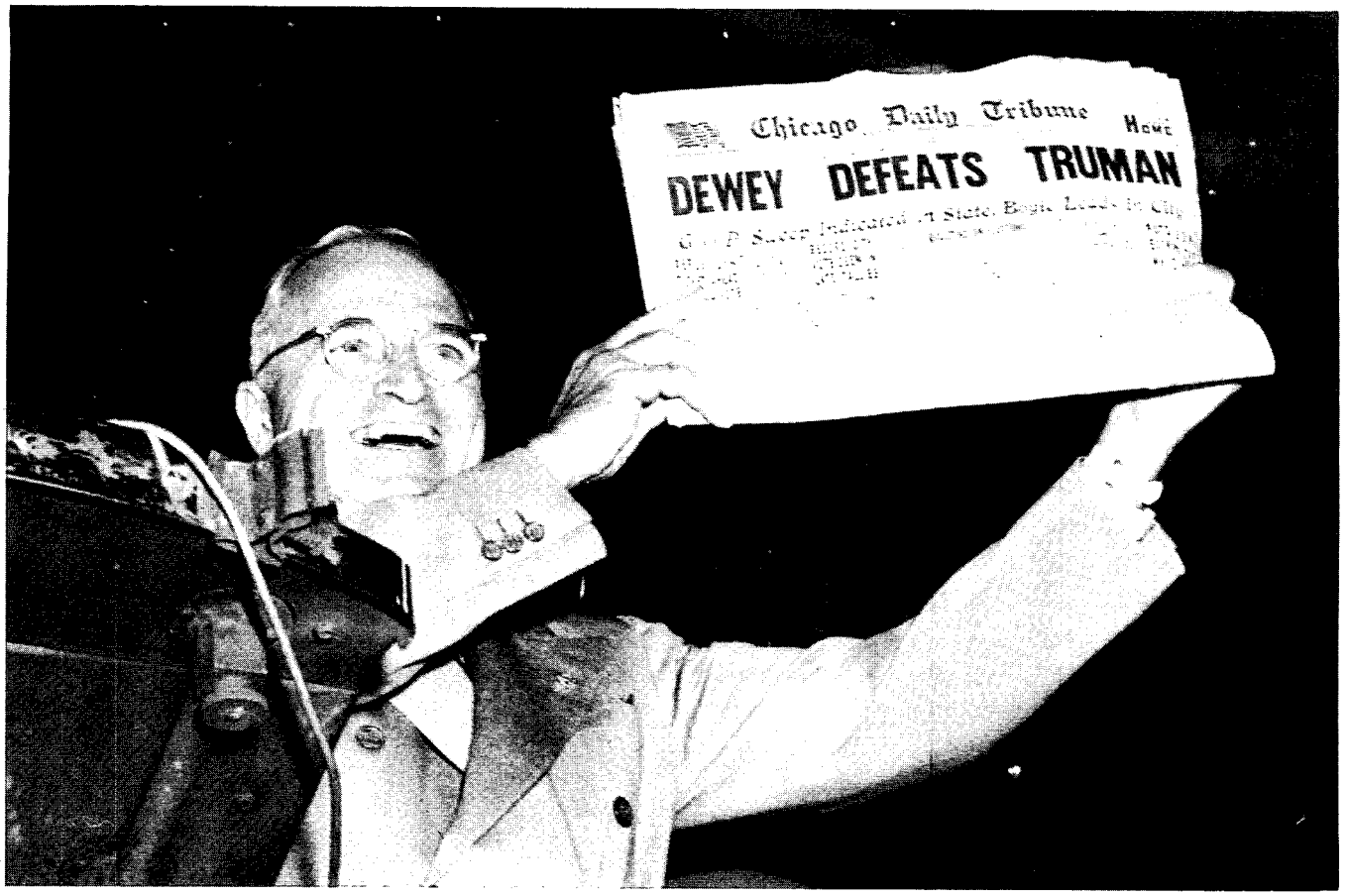
California State Supervisors and California State Employees' Association want to thank our fellow state employees, other public service workers, friends and neighbors who helped to defeat Proposition 61 on November 4th.

Thanks to your votes and the efforts of many business, professional and labor organizations, California state workers — and all California public service employees — received a resounding vote of confidence.

Quality in State government gives California a competitive edge.

California State Supervisors

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



UPI/BETTMANN NEWSPHOTOS

Bad Reporting Can Defeat Anyone.

Does it make you nervous to hear your bill tracking service advertise that its information is "timely and accurate," almost as if accuracy were an also-ran?

BILLTRAK takes a different approach. Our information is obtained via magnetic tape updates from the Legislative Data Center, the same people who produce the Daily File, History, and Journal publications and the actual bill copy. BILLTRAK updates its system nightly so you have the official version of committee and floor actions, amended wording, and all other legislative activity early each morning. We use this method because timely information is only useful if it's accurate.

At BILLTRAK, we know that accurate information is the only information you want. So that's the only information we report to clients like the County Supervisor's Association, the League of California Cities, and the County of Los Angeles.

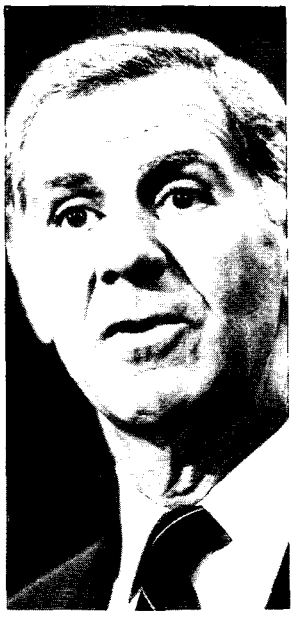
Contact: Mark Krausse or John Walthall at CAPITOL INFORMATION MANAGEMENT (916) 636-4405

BILLTRAK

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CALIFORNIA Journal

VOLUME XVII, NUMBER 12 DECEMBER 1986



The second term 579

After blessing George Deukmejian with a landslide victory, Californians shouldn't expect many changes as the incumbent settles in for another four years in the governor's office.

By Richard Zeiger

'Twas the season to be nasty 582

The 1986 campaign season was among the nastiest ever as candidates throughout the state scraped the bottom of the proverbial barrel with a style some observers think will be the trend of the future.

By William Endicott

The 1986 election 587

A California Journal *analysis of the November general election.*

Statewide offices	588
Propositions	591
Congress	593
State Senate	595
Assembly	597

The Sacramento pot of gold 603

Is California politics lucrative business? A look at the financial gains (and losses) of officeholders who have been in the state capitol for ten years or more and how they've made (or lost) their money.

By Elizabeth Jones and Lesley Walker

Up front	574
Perspective from Washington	610

Cover art by Deladier Almeida

President and Publisher: Thomas R. Hoeber, **Editor:** Richard Zeiger, **Managing Editor:** A.G. Block, **Art Director:** Chris Van Overloop, **Business Manager:** Barbara Rocco, **Assistant Editor:** Karin Petersen Hsiao, **Art Assistant:** Cindy Chan, **Washington Correspondent:** Leo Rennert, **Contributing Artists:** Paul Duginski, Steve Greenberg, Tom McGee, Darrell Forney, Deladier Almeida, Bob Staake, **Staff:** Hope Tuttle, Mary E. Gillis, Karen Sullivan.

Advertising Representative: Colt Stewart (916) 442-2284

CALIFORNIA JOURNAL is a non-partisan, non-ideological analysis of California government and politics established in 1970. The *Journal* is indexed in Public Affairs Information Service, New York Times Information Bank, Sage Urban Studies Abstracts, Urban Affairs Abstracts, and California Periodicals Index. *California Journal* (ISSN 00081205) is published monthly. Subscription rates: Libraries and Government Agencies, $39; Corporations and Associations, $95; Special Individual Rate, $24.95. Address all inquiries to California Journal, 1714 Capitol Ave., Sacramento, California 95814. Telephone (916) 444-2840.

Copyright 1986 by California Journal, Inc.

Second class postage paid at Sacramento. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to CALIFORNIA JOURNAL, 1714 Capitol Ave., Sacramento, CA 95814.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

UP FRONT

How's Jesse Unruh? Well, he says he's fine. But most of the state's major newspapers recently ran a story quoting another newspaper (the *Sacramento Bee*) quoting rumors that Unruh, who hasn't been around Sacramento much lately, was dying of cancer. Unruh says he had prostate cancer three years ago and back trouble lately. And, oh yes, there's a new marriage that's distracted him somewhat. But other than that, "I'm a long way from being dead or dying."

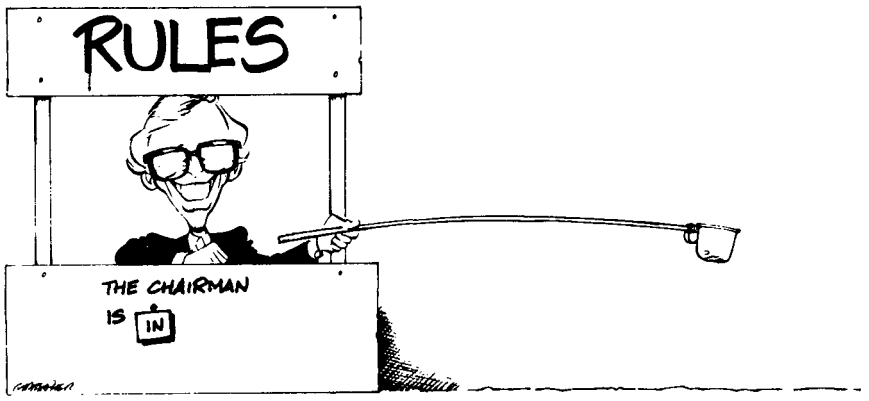
This sounds to us like one of those wonderful Sacramento stories that feeds on itself so quickly that everybody soon believes it has to be true because they heard it from somebody who heard it directly from somebody who heard Jesse say it at a party. The original story even quoted the attorney general's office saying it had been called by still another news organization that wanted to know if the lawyers had been asked about the rules for naming Unruh's successor (they hadn't). Okay, you want the real truth? Jesse has been in hiding to practice because he plans to play lead guitar for a Beatles reunion.

He's got no one to blame but himself. Supreme Court Justice Joseph Grodin is at least in small part responsible for his own defeat. While on the campaign trail, Grodin spotted an anti-Court tee-shirt that featured the names of the three targeted justices inside a circle with a slash — the international symbol for "no." Grodin asked a reporter for the *San Diego Tribune* if she could buy him one of the shirts, knowing it would mean eight dollars into the coffers of his opponents. He figured, despite the objections of his wife, that the shirts would one day be collectors' items. Grodin, by the way, plans to spend about three weeks in Bali before entering a new line of work some time next year. Presumably, he won't wear the tee-shirt.

(Ann Levin, San Diego)

Literacy award to the Sacramento Metropolitan Chamber of Commerce which mailed out a voter's guide a few days before the November election, urging recipients to cast ballots for a favored few. All candidates for statewide and Sacramento-area offices were listed, with checkmarks next to those the chamber endorsed. Okay, so the chamber forgot to run the slate through its spelling checker. Among the candidates listed were "John Van de Camp," "Leroy F. Green," and "Lloyd G. Connely." Two of them — Greene and Connelly — are Sacramento incumbents.

The new Bane of their existence. Now that Speaker Willie Brown has appointed San Fernando Valley Democrat Tom Bane as the new chairman of the Assembly Rules Committee, replacing Millbrae's Lou Papan, members of the



third house have a little more to be nervous about. Already an impressive money-raiser, some lobbyists are worried that Bane will set up a "toll gate" operation, making sure everyone tithes the church before bills get assigned to the proper committees. The other leading contender for the Rules post, Phil Isenberg of Sacramento, apparently will be content to exercise his influence with Speaker Brown from behind the scenes.

Speaking of speakers, Willie Brown thinks it will be a little easier this year to dole out committee assignments. Brown had a rough time two years ago when he had too many experienced Democrats and not enough committee chairmanships to go around. But this year, with the departure of a half-dozen or so veteran lawmakers, Brown has much more room to maneuver. In fact, he may revoke the rule he made last year that no one who held a committee chairmanship could also sit on the Ways and Means Committee. The biggest plum still open: chairman of the Finance and Insurance Committee, one of the major "grease" committees in the house. The job had been held by Alister McAlister who took an ill-fated run for state controller.

An interesting side effect of the low turnout for November's election is that initiatives will now be easier to qualify for the ballot. Because the vote for governor actually dropped a bit, to 7.264 million from 7.875 million, or more than a half-million votes, the number of signatures required to qualify a statutory initiative for the ballot will drop from about 393,000 to about 363,000. The last time that happened was in 1974 when the vote for governor decreased by about 300,000 votes.

(Gerald Meral, Sacramento)

Off the market. Donna Louise Lipper, junior deputy press secretary to Governor George Deukmejian and the only member of the administration who does not sport a furry upper lip, expects to wed Greg Lucas, son of state Supreme Court Justice (possibly chief) Malcolm Lucas next April. Is this where little Republicans come from?

Just pucker up and blow. *The Sacramento Union*, which is gamely trying to keep its circulation from slipping much more below 100,000, may have found the subscription builder it needs in this political, gossipy town. *The Union* last month started a new advice-to-the-lovelorn column, and the first letter was from a "Sacramento Lady Lobbyist" wanting to know what to do about her ex-husband's new lover — a male legislator from a conservative district who is a "moving force behind

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

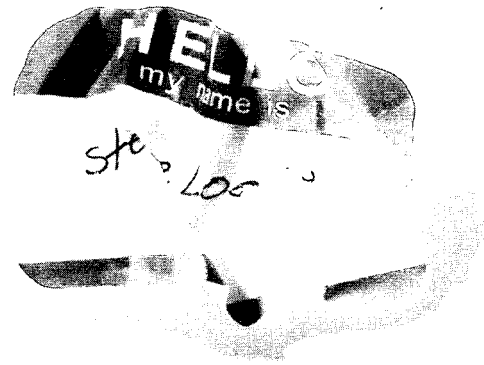
many of the anti-gay rights movements . . . ." The advice? "Blow the whistle" on him. No toots so far.

Things aren't quite as bad for Assemblyman Johan Klehs as we said in last month's *Journal*. In a recap of who had the most bills passed, we noted, correctly, that Klehs had 17 bills vetoed, making him Governor Deukmeian's favorite target. That's right so far. But we also said he had only 26 bills passed by the Legislature. In fact, that's how many he had signed into law. Forty-three of Klehs' bills were approved by his colleagues.

Old lobbyists never fade away. Dugald Gillies, long-time lobbyist for the California Association of Realtors, has announced plans to retire. Around town he is considered one of the best at his trade and in fact has been selected by more than one *California Journal* survey as the most effective of his breed. But before his competitors in the lobbying corps — or the objects of his efforts — breath too much easier, they ought to know that Gillies says he wants to write a book about his experiences. The last famous book by a lobbyist was written by Artie Samish.

Staffers at the *Daily Californian*, the Berkeley paper that once belonged to the University of California, have come up with a novel way to protest passage of Proposition 63 — the English-only initiative approved overwhelmingly in November. They're planning to print their masthead in every world language (except English, of course) until they run out of possibilities. The only problem: They've only been able to round up Spanish and Turkish translations. Anyone out there speak Ibo or Urdu?

On December 1st the governor of California will have left a major cabinet post vacant for one year and one month. That's how long it's been since Secretary of Health and Welfare David Swoap left to pursue a lobbying career. The administration now says it has been waiting to name a successor until after the election because it didn't want to subject its nominee to a confirmation hearing in front of a Democrat-controlled (and presumably hostile) Senate during the heat of an election campaign. Two or three months ago, the administration said something about how hard it was to find the right nominee for a very complex agency. This makes it sound as though the new excuse is not an overall strategy but something they just thought up. Senate President



Good public relations takes a lot more than just a party.

If you measure the success of your public relations campaign by the number of parties you give, we're not the agency for you.

But if you're looking for a carefully planned public relations effort that builds a positive image for your business or association long after the party's over, let's talk.

To us, public relations isn't all fun and games. It's serious business.

We're effective, professional and thoroughly modern. Our computer capabilities allow us to target your message to just the right media—local, statewide or national.

More important, our campaigns generate favorable coverage in media that count, where we tell your story accurately and persuasively.

So for a great party, call your caterer.

But for serious public relations, call us.

Ray McNally & Associates, Inc.

ADVERTISING & PUBLIC RELATIONS

820 18th Street Sacramento, CA 95814 916/447-8186

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Advertisement

■
He was the effective Chair of the *Senate and Assembly Transportation Committees* and of the powerful *Assembly Ways and Means Committee.*

■
He served the people of California as a Member of the *Senate Finance Committee, Senate Governmental Organization Committee, Senate Housing and Urban Affairs Committee* and the *Senate Banking and Commerce Committee.*

■
He is an expert on transportation, tort reform, the State Budget, air quality, housing, education, banking and commerce, consumer affairs, and health law.

■
He now joins the firm of *Nossaman, Guthner, Knox and Elliott.* He is **John F. Foran.** Engaged in the practice of law and legislative advocacy.

NOSSAMAN, GUTHNER,
KNOX & ELLIOTT

■
JLA Advocates
1010 11th Street, Suite 300
Sacramento CA 95814 916.442-0238

pro Tempore David Roberti, whose colleagues must approve the nominee, recently called upon the governor to name a successor. Roberti plans to introduce legislation next year to require that gubernatorial appointments be made "within a reasonable period of time."

Snow removal may not seem important if you live in Los Angeles, but it is vital if you own or operate a tourist-related business in the Sierra Nevada. So when the state's ski operators joined with rural counties and Sierra lodge owners to complain that Cal Trans wasn't keeping roads adequately plowed, Democratic Assemblyman Sam Farr came to their rescue. Farr, chairman of the Economic Development and New Technologies Committee, tried to put an additional $700,000 for snow removal in Cal Trans' 1986-87 budget but the governor blue-penciled it. Farr then got state Senator John Doolittle to author a bill (SB2620) to allot the extra cash for Cal Trans. Doolittle, a Sacramento Republican, represents a heavily-traveled, heavily-snowed-upon section of Interstate 80. Farr co-authored the bill on the Assembly side, and it was subsequently signed by the governor. Farr was involved in this little money matter, say his aides, because he has long been involved with tourism through his committee and his chairmanship of the Legislature's ad-hoc tourism caucus. But the Carmel lawmaker is also one of 35 owners of Sorenson's — a resort facility on Highway 88 in the Sierras (near Kirkwood Ski Resort in the Hope Valley). The closure rate on Highway 88 increased dramatically last winter. In all 1985, the route was snowed shut for less than six days. In just the first three months of 1986 however, Highway 88 was closed for more than 10.5 days, according to Cal Trans.

Come across a blurb lately that's nosy, newsy or smart-alecky about California government, politics or politicians? Share it with the Journal. *We pay up to $25 for entertaining tidbits published in "Up Front," so rush your items to Up Front, 1714 Capitol Avenue, Sacramento, 95814. Sorry, submissions cannot be returned.*

"An easily understood workable falsehood is more useful than a complex incomprehensible truth."
— Anonymous, India

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Advertisement

SCHEDULE

Legislative process	December 5 — LA
Legislative process	February — Sacramento
Budget process	March — Sacramento

Speakers will include prominent lobbyists, key legislative decision-makers, technical experts, media people, and public agency officials — all prepared to impart valuable insights on survival and effectiveness in the non-textbook, real-world arena of lawmaking in California. These day-long programs have proved to be a stimulating and practical introduction for the newcomer as well as a highly valuable refresher for the veteran.

Contact Rod Tuttle **(916) 444-2840**

Advertisement

THE MEDIUM IS THE MESSAGE

Every institution has important messages it needs to convey to the public, to community leaders and to business. Millions of dollars are spent each year creating and refining these messages. Yet few institutions focus on the fact that the best-presented message in the world is worthless if it doesn't reach the right audience at the right time.

California Journal offers you the opportunity to present your message every month to the state's most exclusive audience: an audience of sophisticated and discerning readers who also happen to control the financial and legislative policies of the 7th largest country in the world — the state of California.

For advertising rates and information call:

Colt Stewart, Inc.
916-442-2284

or write:

Colt Stewart
1005 12th Street, Suite H
Sacramento, CA 95814

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

32 Reasons to Choose a CDA Dentist.

Your left incisor. Your right molar. And the 30 other teeth that could last a lifetime if you give them proper care and attention. They're the best reasons to choose a California Dental Association member-dentist. One of the dentists who set the standards.

To belong to CDA, a dentist must do more than get a dental education and a state license. CDA will admit only those dentists who pledge to meet the high standards of practice and ethics established by the Association—standards that significantly exceed those demanded by law.

CDA member-dentists commit to establish practices to meet your needs, the needs of the profession and the community. They agree to abide by the decisions of peer review committees. And they also pledge to continue to improve their professional skills and knowledge, and to share that expertise with their colleagues. The goal of every CDA member is to continually improve standards of dental care in their practice and provide service to their community.

So when you or someone in your family need dental care, seek out a member of the California Dental Association. Call the local component dental society nearest you. 14,000 CDA members statewide are ready to care for you.

CDA CALIFORNIA DENTAL ASSOCIATION

We're the Dentists who Set the Standards.™

© 1986

...And Here Are 32 More:

California Dental Association local societies:

Alameda County
(Metropolitan Oakland)
(415) 832-4461

Berkeley
(415) 644-9800

Butte-Sierra
(Yuba City/Marysville/
Grass Valley)
(916) 671-9312

Central Coast
(San Luis Obispo Area)
(805) 544-1113

Contra Costa
(415) 687-9360

Fresno-Madera
(209) 224-4125

Harbor (Southwest L.A./
Long Beach)
(213) 595-6301

Humboldt-Del Norte
(707) 443-7476

Kern County
(805) 327-2666

Los Angeles (Central Area)
(213) 481-2133

Marin County
(415) 459-7385

Mid-Peninsula
(Menlo Park to Mt. View)
(415) 941-3005

Monterey Bay
(408) 758-8406

Napa-Solano
(707) 643-4870

Northern California
(Chico/Redding/Red Bluff)
(916) 891-8398

Orange County
(714) 542-8808

Redwood Empire
(707) 546-7275

Sacramento
(916) 446-1226

San Diego County
(619) 223-5391

San Fernando Valley
(818) 884-7396

San Francisco
(415) 986-5845

San Gabriel Valley
(818) 285-1174

San Joaquin (Stockton Area)
(209) 951-1311

San Mateo County
(415) 345-5714

Santa Barbara-Ventura
(805) 643-3670

Santa Clara County
(408) 264-8085

Southern Alameda County
(South & East of Oakland)
(415) 886-3404

Stanislaus (Modesto Area)
(209) 523-0763

Tri-County (Riverside/
San Bernardino/Upland/Ontario)
(714) 686-3368

Tulare-Kings County
(209) 625-9333

Western (Los Angeles)
(213) 641-5561

Yosemite (Los Banos/Merced)
(209) 384-7237

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

DUKE'S LAND-SLIDE

Second term blessed by comp acent electorate

By RICHARD ZEIGER

The first four years of George Deukmejian's administration has had few surprises. Don't expect anything else during the next four.

"I don't think they're going to be that much different," said Chief of Staff Steve Merksamer.

In fact, political or administrative daring would be totally out of character for this governor who values order, procedure and control. When asked about the challenges of the next term, those close to the governor talk about the ability to manage government — rather than specific issues or goals they want to achieve.

Although they see some potential pitfalls on the horizon, most notably relations with a Legislature still held by the Democrats, the Deukmejian team believes things in the second term will again run smoothly. And at least for the moment, Deukmejian seems immune to the disease that has proved endemic to the corner office: Potomac fever.

The governor's low-key style is apparently immensely popular with voters who returned him to office November 4th with more than 60 percent of the vote, nearly 1.7 million more votes than his opponent — Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley. Deukmejian won 56 of the state's 58 counties.

Bradley could not match the governor's ability to raise money, nor could he find a campaign theme that appealed to voters content with the way things are going in California. A Field Institute poll of voters as they were leaving

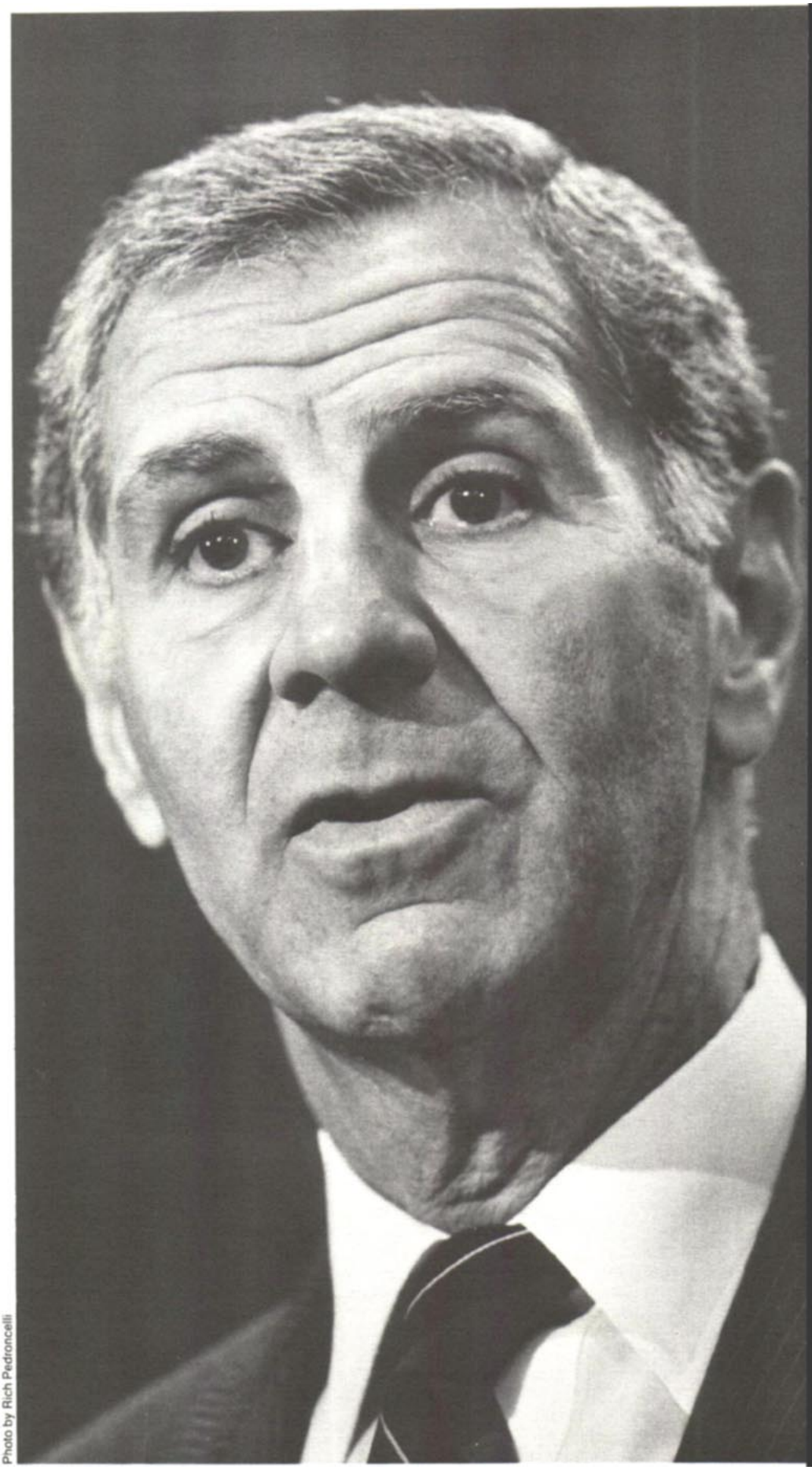


Photo by Rich Pedroncelli

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the polling place indicated that 87 percent thought things were going "pretty well" or "fairly well" in the state. Of those in the first category, 81 percent voted for Deukmejian, while 62 percent of those in the second category voted for the governor.

"The governor's race was over a long time ago," said pollster Mervin Field, "before the many millions of dollars were spent. People were satisfied. Bradley never gave them a reason to change."

Bradley early on chose a high-risk strategy that attacked head-on the universal perception of Deukmejian as an honest, competent executive. Particularly effective for the mayor was his attack on the governor's record of controlling toxic pollution in the state. Bradley, who would have become the nation's first elected Black governor had he won, also dealt head-on with the question of race, bringing it up repeatedly in the closing days of the campaign. It was a repudiation of the tactics Bradley had employed four years ago when he made few direct attacks on Deukmejian and avoided all discussion of race. But Bradley ended up 90,000 votes short then, and the feeling among his handlers was that the same strategy would leave him even further behind a strong incumbent.

Misplaced aggression

Instead, Bradley this year was recast as an aggressive campaigner who criticized Deukmejian at every opportunity. If the Bradley camp could discredit the governor's performance in office, it might be enough to give him a victory this time.

But the attacks lacked credibility. Although the governor's toxic program may have been poorly handled, voters did not believe the governor had been bought off by contributions from polluting industries, as the Bradley commercials implied. And Bradley's own problem with Los Angeles' sewage disposal was the subject of strong Deukmejian counter-charges.

Bradley flirted with several other issues, including insurance and education, but none caught the imagination of voters.

Far from staying above the fray, Deukmejian responded in kind. Both men harbored ill-will from the campaign four years ago which made it that much easier to attack this time. Although he said the mayor's attacks were so personal he could not appear at a debate with him, Deukmejian had no trouble referring to his opponent as the "mayor of mud."

Voters apparently didn't believe the negative attacks by either candidate. But most importantly for Deukmejian, they just did not buy the image of an inept incumbent governor. And Bradley gave them no alternative reason to vote for him. The result was the biggest vote margin for any gubernatorial candidate since Earl Warren won both major party nominations in 1946.

The Deukmejian team believes the strong vote for the governor will give him something of a "honeymoon" with the Legislature, still controlled by Democrats but with smaller majorities in each house. However, that perception is not widespread among Democrats. "There will be no honeymoon, period," states Assembly Speaker Willie Brown. In fact, Brown believes a substantial number of Democrats are mad at the governor because he campaigned against them and even spent some of his campaign money on their opponents in the last few days before the election.

And Brown believes there are issues pending that will be very difficult for Deukmejian to reconcile with the Democrats, including changes in the mental-health system, financing for education and the still unresolved question of a location for a state prison in Los Angeles County.

George Deukmejian (R-I)	**4,395,972**	**61%**
Tom Bradley (D)	2,721,674	38%
Maria E. Munoz (P&F)	50,542	1%
Gary V. Miller (AIP)	49,022	1%
Joseph Fuhrig (L)	47,618	1%

But the biggest source of contention is likely to be the implementation of the limit on state spending approved by voters in 1974. Known as the Gann limit (after its author, political gadfly Paul Gann), it restricts the amount the government can spend to a formula that considers increases in population and the cost of living. The limit meant little when inflation rates were high, but now that they are down, the state is close to the maximum amount it can spend. As a result, pressure has been building to exempt some aspects of state government, including education and highway construction, from the limit.

Dual pressure

But the governor has pledged, at least for the time being, to hold all portions of spending within the limit. That pledge could create problems for the governor, since the pressure for change is coming not only from liberals who might be expected to approve of additional state spending, but from more conservative constituencies as well.

Merksamer believes the public will support Deukmejian's desire to hold to the limit. "The public wants the government to set priorities. I think the public wants to see the government cut waste." He also notes that the limit puts pressure on the Legislature as well, since they, too, are charged with respecting the limits set by the initiative.

But the governor's priorities are not likely to be the same as those held by lawmakers, and the pressure of the Gann limit sets the stage for a potential showdown that could mar the governor's standing with the voters.

Administration officials, for example, are again bringing up the governor's earlier suggestion that the state should eliminate some of the "categorical" program grants given to schools and replace them with "block grants" to school districts, which can then determine how the money should be spent. But this change only saves the state money if less money is provided. Although some of the heat for the cuts might be shifted to local districts — who might have to choose, say, between programs for the handicapped and the gifted — some might fall on the governor as well.

In addition, large portions of the state budget, including many of the welfare programs, are entitled by law to cost-of-living increases. Democrats can hold these increases in place by doing nothing, forcing the governor to make even deeper cuts in other programs.

The governor was also on the losing side of Proposition 65, the toxic initiative on the November ballot. Deukmejian opposed the measure and will be under pressure from key members of his constituency, business and agriculture, to avoid the most demanding provisions of the bill. Democrats in the Legislature, however, believe the measure's passage gives them a mandate to push for even stronger reforms.

Deukmejian Chief of Staff Merksamer said the governor's office has already started plans to begin implementing the act, but that no one should expect the governor to become a "born again" pollution fighter the way former Governor Jerry Brown became a tax cutter following the passage of property-tax slashing Proposition 13, which Brown opposed.

But in the heady days after the governor's sweeping win, the potential for problems seems small. The governor's advisors are immensely pleased with their performance, both governmentally and electorally. In fact, even with the election over and damage out of the way, Merksamer can find no flaws in the administration's performance for the last four years that he wants to correct.

So if everything runs perfectly, and the potential challenges are all manageable, what will Deukmejian do to keep busy in the next four years?

Well, one thing he won't be doing, at least for the moment, is running for higher office, a perennial activity of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

most California governors. Deukmejian, by all accounts including his own, is happy just being governor. Last spring he opened the possibility he might want a third term in office, something that hasn't happened since Earl Warren's time.

Future moves

Although his name crops up occasionally as a possible vice-presidential candidate, or even for an appointment to the U. S. Supreme Court, those both appear unlikely. For one thing, Deukmejian insists he will do nothing to pursue either. Furthermore, because his lieutenant governor will remain Democrat Leo McCarthy, leaving office in mid-term would mean turning the state over to the opposition party.

There is at least one other incentive for Deukmejian to seek a third term: the absence of any other popular Republican as a likely replacement. Although the Republicans have made progress in electing candidates to the Legislature, U. S. Senator Pete Wilson aside, they have been unable to capture any other statewide office. Few Republicans in the Legislature have managed to make even the smallest statewide mark and the Republicans in Congress are even more anonymous. With most of the big-city mayorships belonging to Democrats, there is just no logical successor to Deukmejian at the moment.

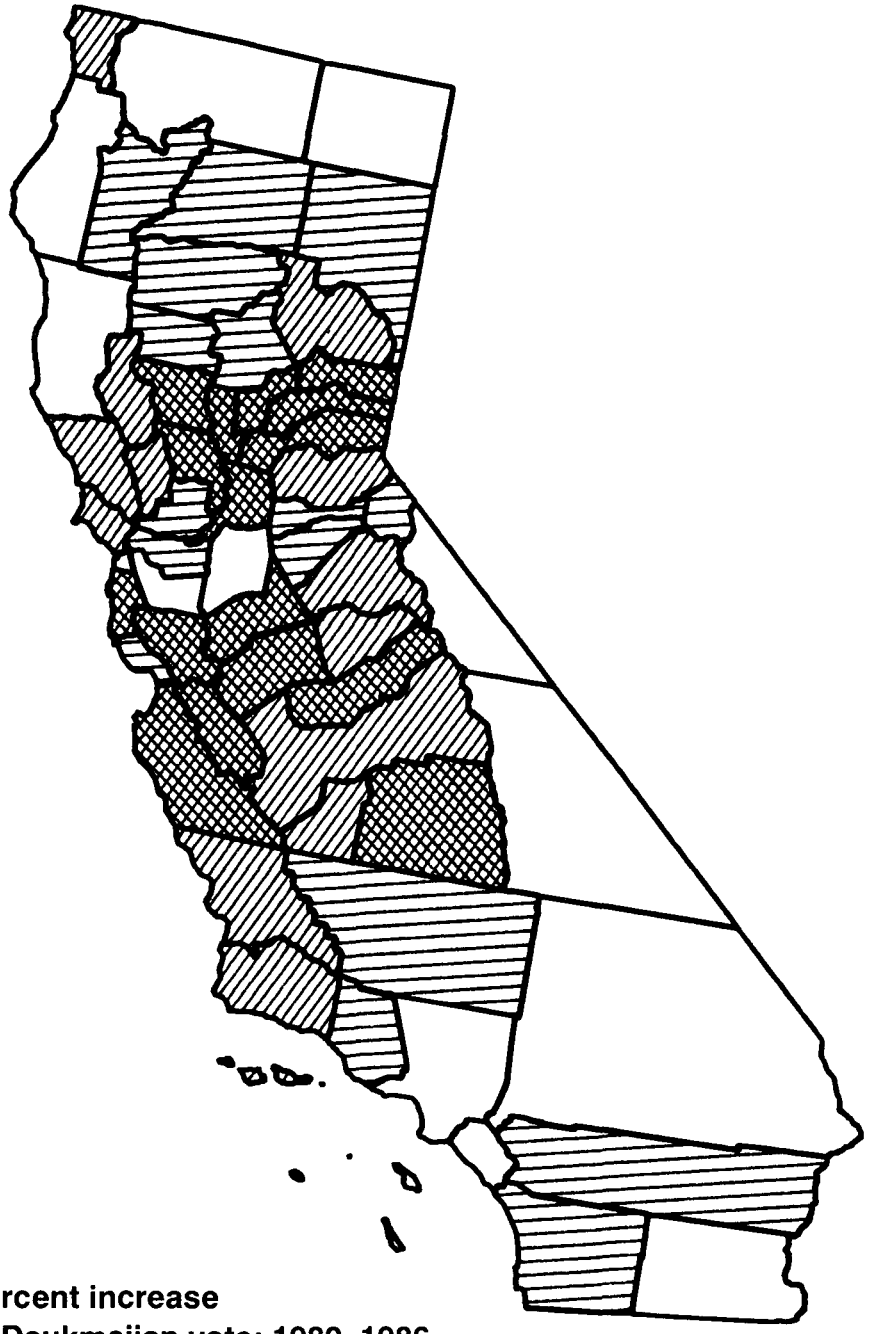
This doesn't mean that Deukmejian's national "profile" won't go up some. The state is planning on setting up trade offices in Tokyo and London, and plans currently call for the governor to open them himself. his first foreign outings other than a brief visit to Vancouver earlier this year. There is also talk that he might be willing to become a "favorite son" candidate for the presidency in 1988. Deukmejian has had some contact with several of the major Republican contenders for the presidency, and while he is probably closest to Vice President George Bush, he has avoided taking sides and will likely continue that position, his advisors say.

Internally, the Deukmejian team will remain basically the same. Merksamer, who functions as the governor's alter-ego, will be staying as chief of staff and Press Secretary Larry Thomas, despite recurring rumors, will be returning in that role.

The one long-vacant cabinet post, secretary of the Health and Welfare Agency, will soon be filled now that Democrats can't put any nominee through a pre-election confirmation grilling.

In fact, for Deukmejian, the biggest change in the next four years may not be in his own branch of government, but in the judiciary where he has the opportunity to reshape the state's Supreme Court in his own image. The appointment of a new chief justice will come soon, with speculation centering on the two justices he has already appointed, Malcolm Lucas and Edward Panelli. Choices for the three remaining justices will come later.

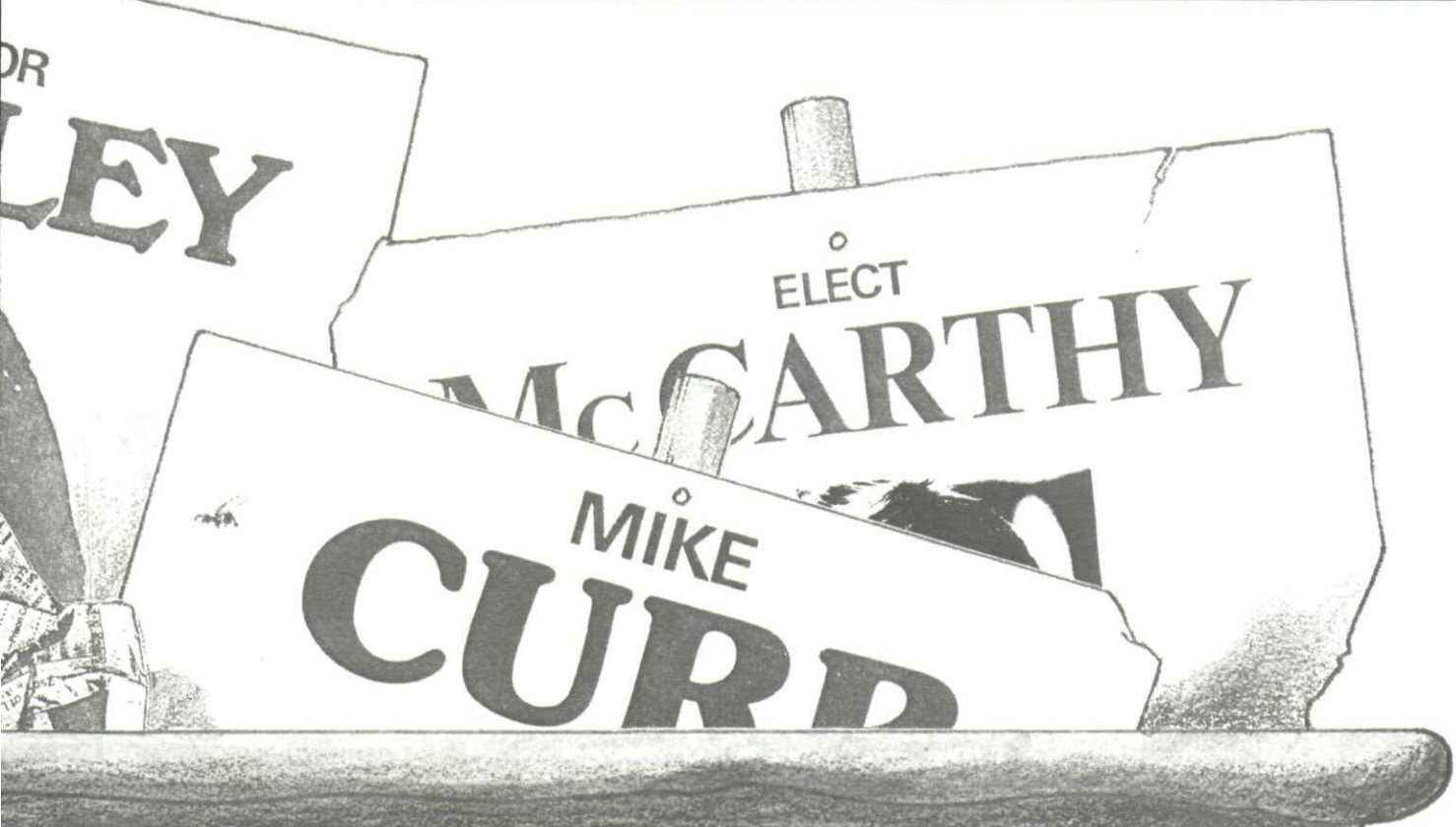
Deukmejian followed into office a governor who sent the public on a roller coaster ride of ideas about how government should operate. The thrills were sometimes fun, but they wore thin. Now the public seems satisfied with Deukmejian's staid approach to government. But California's voters, at least in recent times, have not been loyal to any one style for long. George Deukmejian wants to see if he can break that trend.



Map by Election Data Services, Inc.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



TRASH CLASH

Candidates seek victory at bottom of the barrel

By WILLIAM ENDICOTT

Some memories of the 1986 election year in California linger like a bad dream. There is, for instance, the picture of two otherwise decent and honorable men, Alan Cranston and Ed Zschau, engaging in an unseemly multimillion dollar dual with 30-second television commercials as their weapons.

Cranston, friend of terrorists and drug dealers, to hear Zschau tell it. Zschau, the two-faced political ally of right wingers Jesse Helms and Jerry Falwell, to hear Cranston tell it. And worse. Did anybody really believe it? Did anybody take the exchanges seriously? To quote the old Peggy Lee song, "Is that all there is?"

In short, the enduring legacy of politics in California, circa 1986, can be summed up in two words — negative advertising. And though we can hope that is not the wave of the future, listen to Los Angeles political consultant Joe Cerrell who heads the American Association of Political Consultants:

"Everybody thinks I'm going to deplore it," he said in an interview for this article. "But absolutely, it is here to stay. People vote more often than not for negative reasons.

"A lot of people would like to think it has bottomed out and that things will be a lot cleaner, a lot nicer, in 1988. I could tell you that, but you want me to tell you the truth, don't you? It's not so."

Certainly, there is nothing new about mud-slinging political campaigns. They are as old as the country itself and part of a long tradition of rough and tumble political confrontation. Not even George Washington and Abraham Lincoln were immune from the mean-spirited assaults of their critics.

There are two things, however, that distinguish the contemporary emphasis on the negative. In the first place, the mud is carried farther, faster and with greater force by the almost total dominance of mass television advertising techniques. Secondly, the negative commercials this year were delivered in an atmosphere that lacked any other political context.

continued on next page

William Endicott is Capitol bureau chief for the Sacramento Bee.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

There were no debates, no personal give-and-take between the candidates, and only a minimum of traditional campaigning. Not once during the year did Cranston and Zschau or George Deukmejian and Tom Bradley come face to face in the same room, and sometimes they went to ridiculous extremes to avoid each other. Once, in mid-summer, they all spoke on the same day to a California Broadcasters Association annual meeting in Monterey. Each insisted that he not come or go out the same door as his opponent.

The cheapened political dialogue that resulted from the kind of 30-second campaigning that unfortunately marked 1986 consequently produced so little interest that Californians stayed away from the polls in droves. There was very little color, very little to energize an apathetic electorate. If anything, the political consultants homogenized campaigns to the point that one was hardly distinguishable from another — and the public obviously felt alienated from the process.

"One-way campaigning results in ever larger numbers of people being turned off by elections and becoming victims of TV manipulation," consumer advocate Ralph Nader wrote in a recent *New York Times* article.

"Voter turnout continues to decline and public cynicism about politicians increasingly removed from everyone's reach blurs into a 'pox on both your houses' rejection."

Austin Ranney, a political scientist at UC Berkeley and author of "Channels of Power: The Impact of Television on American Politics," echoed Nader by saying that "one of the great problems we have in this country is the low opinion Americans have of politicians as a class. So if all they hear from the candidates themselves is what liars and thieves their opponents are, the opinion of politicians as a class is bound to go down. The losers from this kind of campaigning are the politicians themselves."

So why do they do it?

In the first place, there is now an almost unconstrained flow of money into campaigns which allows candidates to seal themselves off from voters and the press and saturate TV screens, and they have been persuaded by political and media consultants that negative campaigning works.

"People are far more ready to believe something bad than something good," said Sacramento-based political consultant David Townsend.

And, by applying modern technology and sophisticated marketing skills, an on-the-air attack can be answered with a counterattack overnight, or sooner.

Second, there was an absence of major issues this year and an apparent satisfaction of voters with the status quo — evidenced by the fact that no incumbents in major statewide races were defeated. And since politics abhors a vacuum, the void was easily filled with negative commercials.

"Candidates, in trying to get attention, became more strident," said pollster Mervin Field. "They were grabbing voters by the ears and saying, 'Listen to me.' And they did it by making harsh if not outrageous statements about their opponents."

Essentially, negative ads, to be effective, have to contain at least a thread of truth and they have to be believable. So what worked and what didn't work this year? Were some ads more believable than others?

"I'm convinced they (political consultants and candidates) are convinced they do work," said Larry Berg, director of the University of Southern California's Institute of Politics and Government. "But it's hard to say they work when everybody's doing it. It means they didn't work for one side."

Although Cranston, Zschau, Deukmejian and Bradley all heavily utilized negative ads, a good case clearly can be made that the more strident ones were failures. Cranston wasted no time after the June primary in going on the attack against Zschau as a flip-flopper on issues ranging from aid to the Contras to South African sanctions and wound up with a humorously negative spot that utilized a disc jockey with a Wolfman Jack voice talking about "Zschau's greatest hits." The "hits" included such tunes as the "Zschau Bop Flip-Flop" and "How Many Times Can a Man Change His Mind?"

Zschau, meanwhile, concentrated heavily on spots that featured dead bodies on airport tarmacs and attempted to plant the idea that Cranston was soft on terrorism, drug pushers and Chief Justice Rose Bird. One particularly controversial ad was designed to resemble a TV newscast, with the announcer giving a "Senate update" on a Cranston vote against the death penalty for terrorists.

A major problem for the comparatively unknown Zschau was that he spent so much time, money and effort on negative ads that he never clearly defined himself enough to give a majority of voters reason to support him. Rather than stress his combination of fiscal conservatism and social moderation that might have been appealing to moderate Democrats and independents, he chose the low road with a bitter negative campaign that dwelt on Rose Bird, drugs, the death penalty and international terrorism. In the process, as exit polls showed, he lost swing voters in the middle of the political spectrum.

The Zschau ads stretched credulity, and Cranston won, albeit narrowly.

Bradley, meanwhile, went after Deukmejian as a captive of toxic polluters and the insurance industry, implying that the Republican chief executive traded favors for campaign contributions. The ads were among the nastiest of the campaign and intended to raise questions about the governor's integrity. But, like the Zschau ads, they also lacked believability. While they might have helped harden the Bradley vote among die-hard Democrats, most people undoubtedly did not take seriously the idea that Deukmejian was corrupt or corruptible.

"We took the high-risk strategy of trying to tear down Duke," said Townsend, who worked on the Bradley campaign. "But we never gave people a reason to vote for Tom Bradley."

Deukmejian's negative ads, on the other hand, were aimed primarily at Bradley's refusal to take a position on Bird and his toxic and crime record as Los Angeles mayor. They were less shrill and more plausible.

A classic campaign

Probably the most classic example of a negative campaign backfiring, however, occurred in Sacramento in the state Senate race between incumbent Democrat Leroy Greene and his Republican rival, Sacramento County Supervisor Sandy Smoley. Greene early in his campaign was regarded as vulnerable to a strong Republican challenge, and the GOP was convinced that in Smoley they had the ideal candidate to unseat him. But as the race unfolded, Smoley went on the air with a commercial featuring a thug, a prostitute and a drug user thanking Greene for his help. The point the ad tried to make was that Greene had sponsored bills or cast votes in the Legislature that presumably benefited those three classes of undesirables. But it not only failed to convince anybody, it more than likely contributed to Smoley's overwhelming defeat.

Political consultant Sal Russo, whose firm ran the Smoley campaign, conceded after the election that sometimes when a campaign lobs a hand grenade, "the shrapnel might come back and hit you." In this case, it would seem, Smoley figuratively fell on the grenade.

Incredibly effective, however, were the ads run by the groups opposing Bird and Associate Justices Joseph Grodin and Cruz Reynoso. They featured mothers of murder victims pleading for the ouster of the three with a final admonishment to "cast three votes for the death penalty." All three justices were defeated.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

And Leo McCarthy's commercials against Mike Curb in their race for lieutenant governor obviously struck a public nerve, zeroing in as they did on Curb's early career in the entertainment industry and his role in movies and songs that dwelt heavily on themes of sex, drugs and violence.

Curb's image with voters was already so poor that it is difficult to evaluate how much additional damage the ads did to him. Nevertheless, he lost by 12 percentage points to the incumbent McCarthy after polls showed the two much closer than that early in October, before McCarthy's last round of ads.

In the final analysis, the blame for the drift into a preponderance of negative campaigning rests with the growing professionalism of campaign management. Candidates are turning themselves over, body and soul, to consultants who give new meaning to the definition of political cynicism and who have no post-election accountability for whatever damage they are doing to the political system.

Even though the public routinely claims to deplore negative ads, those who make them remain convinced public attitudes are immaterial.

"We know from years of work in research psychology that people process negative information more deeply than positive information," Ed Mellman, a Democratic pollster, told the *Washington Post* recently. "When we ask people about negative ads, they'll say they don't like them. But that's not the point. The point is that they absorb the information."

Pollster Field believes, however, that campaigns too often base their strategy on superficial data gleaned from "focus groups," small gatherings of voters who are brought together, shown ads and asked to evaluate and comment on them.

"The group dynamics are such that one or two who are articulate and exceptionally political can dominate," he said. "I think they are getting some illusions, some artificial results that are not real, some very crude and unsupported data."

He also said that especially in the gubernatorial and senatorial races this year, "it seemed as if the public was able to pierce through the mud that was being heaped on the candidates and make a decision on something other than negative ads."

UC Berkeley's Ranney agreed.

"A lot of people who have watched a lot of campaigns and have formed impressions — and I am one of them — believe a higher proportion of ads was negative this time than at any time we can remember."

Did they work the way the people who did them wanted them to work? Did they produce more votes for a candidate than if he had accentuated the positive? Although there were exceptions — the Curb-McCarthy race, for example — Ranney said that generally "I don't myself see any evidence that they did work. It isn't absolutely necessary for a guy who is behind to get ahead by only saying nasty things about his opponent."

Again, however, the persistent question is whether 1986 is to become the political norm, or whether a political environment can be created that will make it impossible for candidates in the future to encapsulate their campaigns in 30-second spots and nothing more.

"Political consultants are very pragmatic people," said Ranney. "If they decide that maybe it would be useful and effective to be less negative and more positive in a particular situation, they will do it. If I am correct, and there is a fair amount of backlash, the next time around voters will be hungry for someone to take the high road."

Advertisement

CAMPAIGN FINANCE SYSTEM

NOW AVAILABLE!!! SOFTWARE THAT ASSISTS IN BOTH FUND RAISING EFFORTS AND FEDERAL/STATE REPORTING REQUIREMENTS

WHY CAMPAIGN FINANCE SYSTEM?

1. Proven seven year use on a mini computer . . . Converted to run on IBM PC (XT, AT) or compatibles using MS or PC DOS.
2. Supported by CPAs with extensive FEC knowledge and experience in handling three senatorial campaigns, one congressional campaign, one gubernatorial, and several political action committees.
3. Guaranteed satisfaction or money back.
4. Guaranteed updates to comply with regulations.
5. Ideal for both candidate and political action committees.
6. FEC approved all lines summary page.
7. FPPC approved.

MAIN MENU

1 = Load client
2 = Enter and edit contributor master
3 = Enter and edit vendor files
4 = Enter and edit cash receipts
5 = Enter and edit cash disbursements
6 = Occupation code file maintenance
7 = Display total pledged and paid
8 = Year end processing
9 = Print Fec Summary Report
10 = Print Fec Form 3/3x

REPORTS MENU

1 = Contributor list — alpha
2 = Contributor master list
3 = Vendor master list
4 = Receipt transaction list
5 = Disbursement transaction list
6 = Mailing labels
7 = Pledges
8 = Itemized receipts
9 = Itemized disbursements
10 = Information request
11 = Contributions by state
12 = Occupation list
13 = Set printer control codes
14 = Letter generation

CALL COLLECT:
Thomas Karlsen, CPA
1436 North 44th Street, Phoenix, Arizona 85008
602-231-9273 / 602-820-4236

From $595.00

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Same Day Actions...

We have all of the information logged in the SENATE DAILY HISTORY...

However- we offer a concise & complete report on a... TIMELY BASIS!

The most important feature of the Legi-Tech Information System is **same day legislative action reporting.**

Example. Compare these Legi-Tech reporting dates with those of the Senate Daily History. SB1970 passed the Assembly Committee on Utilities & Commerce 6/18/86– Legi-Tech reported this action the same day. The Senate Daily History made its report on June 23rd, five days later. Notice also that the bill passed the Senate Energy and Public Utilities Committee on 4/08/86, an action reported by the Daily History 9 days later!

****
* LEGI-TECH 6/18/86 ACTION REPORT *
****
SB 1970 ELECTRICITY: DEMAND AND SUPPLY FORECAST: REPORT
ROSENTHAL

ACTIONS:	02/18/86	INTRODUCED IN SENATE
	02/24/86	REFERRED TO SENATE COMMITTEE ON ENERGY & PUBLIC UTILITIES
➔	04/08/86	PASSED BY SENATE COMMITTEE ON ENERGY & PUBLIC UTILITIES
	04/08/86	REFERRED TO SENATE COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS
	04/21/86	AMENDED
	05/12/86	FROM COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS
	05/22/86	PASSED BY SENATE
	05/22/86	INTRODUCED IN ASSEMBLY
	06/02/86	REFERRED TO ASSEMBLY COMMITTEE ON UTILITIES & COMMERCE
➔	06/18/86	PASSED BY ASSEMBLY COMMITTEE ON UTILITIES & COMMERCE
	06/18/86	REFERRED TO ASSEMBLY COMMITTEE ON WAYS & MEANS

SENATE DAILY HISTORY

S.B. No. 1970—Rosenthal.
An act relating to electricity

1986

Feb	18	—Introduced. Read first time. To Com. on RLS. for assignment. To print.
Feb	20	—From print. May be acted upon on or after March 22.
Feb	24	—To Com. on E. & P.U.
Mar	17	—Set for hearing April 8.
➔ April	17	—From committee: Do pass as amended, but first amend, and re-refer to Com. on APPR. (Ayes 5. Noes 0. Page 5053.)
April	21	—Read second time. Amended. Re-referred to Com. on APPR.
April	30	—Set for hearing May 12.
May	12	—From committee: Be placed on second reading file pursuant to Senate Rule 28.8.
May	13	—Read second time. To third reading.
May	19	—To Special Consent Calendar.
May	22	—Read third time. Passed. (Ayes 30. Noes 0. Page 5887.) To Assembly.
May	23	—In Assembly. Read first time. Held at Desk.
June	2	—To Com. on U. & C.
➔ June	23	—From committee: Do pass, but first be re-referred to Com. on W. & M. (Ayes 11. Noes 0.) Re-referred to Com. on W. & M.

For more information or a demonstration of the Legi-Tech System, please give us a call.

Legi-Tech Corporation
The Senator Hotel • 1121 L Street, Suite 207 • Sacramento, CA 95814
Telephone: (916) 447-1886

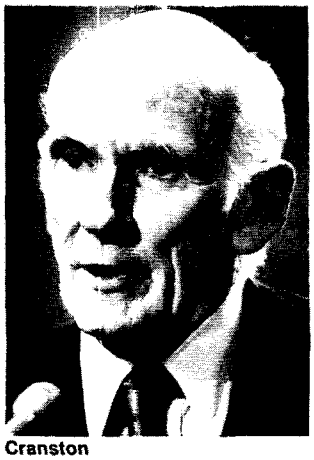
Note the Legi-Tech Difference

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

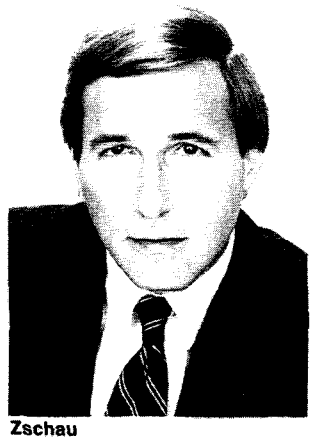
THE 1986 ELECTION

A district-by-district analysis

U.S. SENATE



Cranston



Zschau

Alan Cranston wanted to prove he could beat a moderate. He did, but only barely, winning by fewer than 120,000 votes in a contest that broke all previous spending records for U. S. Senate candidates, with each side coughing up in excess of $10 million.

Cranston also ended — at least for the moment — the miracle rise of Ed Zschau. Until a year ago, Zschau was an obscure congressman from Northern California with an unpronounceable name (pronounced like the first syllable of shower). A self-made Silicon Valley entrepreneur, Zschau proved a formidable money raiser as he swept aside a half-dozen better known, and mostly more conservative, Republicans to win the June primary on the strength of a well-financed television campaign. In a state that is becoming more Republican, it looked like Ed Zschau might become the pattern for a new wave of Republican officeholders.

But while Zschau was catching his breath after the primary victory, Cranston struck hard with a summer television blitz. Ignoring the traditional approach that says an incumbent should ignore his lesser-known challenger, Cranston hit the airwaves with a million-dollar attack on Zschau's sometimes inconsistent voting record. Since the public really knew little about the congressman, Cranston's strategy was to fill in the blanks with his own perception.

Zschau had his own problems deciding what he wanted his campaign to say. Bedeviled by criticism from the right that he was not conservative enough for his own party, Zschau received conflicting advice that he needed to bolster conservative support in his own party while simultaneously wooing moderate Democrats. The confusion resulted in some abrupt policy changes by the candidate that left him even more vulnerable to a Cranston charge of flip-flopping. Cranston also reinforced the message by reminding voters that while they may not always agree with the senator, "at least you know where he stands."

Zschau also wasn't helped by right-wing leaders within his own party, some of whom (Glendora state Senator H. L. Richardson, for instance) urged conservatives to take a walk on election day. Better to have the aging Cranston back in office, Richardson argued, than a moderate Republican who might hold the job for many years to come. After the election, Richardson gloated that the lack of conservative support caused Zschau's defeat. It was a big day for Richardson, who could also claim a portion of the scalps of three Supreme Court justices.

However, pollster Mervin Field disputes this. His exit polls indicate that Zschau captured almost all of the conservative vote. It was the moderates — who at the same time were voting for Governor George Deukmejian and against Chief Justice Rose Bird — who gave Cranston his victory. Field's polls showed that those who supported Zschau did so because they did not like Cranston, either for his policies or because he was just too old. Few did so because they liked Ed Zschau. "He just never gave them any reason to vote for him," Field said. Field maintains Zschau never effectively countered Cranston's campaign. People knew what Zschau was against — Alan Cranston. But they never knew what he was *for*, according to Field.

Despite these shortcomings, however, there is little question that Zschau was gaining ground in the closing days of the campaign. Polls conducted about two weeks before the election gave Cranston a lead of between six and 11 points. But Field's poll, the last one taken just a few days before the election, declared the contest a virtual dead heat. Last minute trips to California by President Ronald Reagan may also have helped Zschau close the gap.

Alan Cranston (D-I)	**3,575,436**	**49%**
Ed Zschau (R)	3,458,814	48%
Edward B. Vallen (AIP)	107,405	2%
Breck McKinley (L)	64,724	1%
Paul Kangas (P&F)	32,984	1%

For Cranston, the victory was vindication of his contention that he could beat a moderate as well as a conservative. Twelve years ago, Cranston beat Richardson; six years ago, he had a cake-walk over underfinanced political gadfly Paul Gann. While Cranston said he was looking forward to the campaign, he was also being careful. He refused to debate the youthful, attractive Zschau. And he continued to solicit the support of the state's business community, much of which hedged its bets by giving money to both the Democrat and to the Republican.

Cranston returns to the Senate — where he soon will have served longer than any California senator since Hiram Johnson — as part of the Democratic sweep that brought the party back into control of Congress' upper house.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SUPREME COURT

Rose Bird was appointed chief justice of the state Supreme Court as much for her symbolic value as for her legal abilities. She was the first woman on the Court, a liberal with strong environmental credentials and an outsider to the legal establishment.

In the end, it was what she came to symbolize — opposition

Bird

Grodin

Reynoso

to the death penalty and a concern for the legal niceties of criminal rights — that resulted in her being the first justice to be turned out of office since the state adopted the confirmation process 52 years ago. Along with her, she took down two other Court justices — Cruz Reynoso and Joseph Grodin.

The defeat of the three Jerry Brown appointees means the people have given Governor George Deukmejian, Bird's most visible critic, the opportunity to remake the high Court in his image. Speculation about Deukmejian's appointments began even before election day with most attention focused on the possibility he would elevate either Justice Malcolm Lucas, his first appointee to the Supreme Court, or Justice Edward Panelli, his second, to the top spot. Panelli and Lucas, along with Justice Stanley Mosk, a Pat Brown appointee, were all confirmed for new terms by the voters.

Bird's rejection by the voters was overwhelming, with nearly two voting against her for every one that wanted her to stay in office. She managed a majority in only two counties, San Francisco and Alameda, while in some rural counties more than 80 percent of the vote went against her. Only those who call themselves liberals wanted her to stay in office. Moderates and conservatives voted against her. According to exit polls taken by the Field Institute, the more educated the voter, the more he or she was inclined to vote for the chief justice.

Pollster Mervin Field believes there is little Bird could have done to turn the election her way. "The positions on Bird crystalized early, even before the advertising began," he noted. Although her opponents managed to raise far more money, much of it was used ineffectively in direct mail campaigns to the already converted or in payments to campaign consultants. In the closing days, however, opponents did manage to air television commercials featuring crime victims, including one of Marianne Frazier who saw the death penalty reversed for the killer of her 12-year-old daughter. The depth of the opposition to Bird also allowed them to turn their attention to Grodin and Reynoso; they asked voters to "cast three votes for the death penalty" by voting against the trio.

Bird attempted to counter the emotional appeals with low-key commercials in which she spoke about the importance of "integrity" for judges. Her efforts to mount an effective campaign were hampered by her insistence on going it alone. She had some initial dealings with campaign professionals but eventually rejected their advice. Although she said she wanted to win, she wanted to make sure she did it the "right way" with a campaign that maintained the dignity of the high Court. To a certain extent, her campaign choices were limited by judicial canons of ethics. She could not, for example, promise that she would vote a certain way on some future case. In addition, any commercial that somehow looked "unjudicial" would have opened a new avenue for criticism by her detractors. Her relations with the press were bumpy. She granted few interviews during her tenure on the bench, then complained when the press dwelt on matters such as her change in hair style. When she finally started a round of interviews, some did not go well. She criticized her opponents as "bully boys" and "little Eddie Meeses," then had to backtrack when the remarks were not well received. The legal establishment, which normally would close ranks around an attack on its chief, abandoned her to a substantial degree. And the state's law-enforcement community was adamant that she had to go. She made most of the campaign decisions herself, operating her campaign with only one full-time employee. Her campaign spokesman, Steve Glazer, rented and operated the cameras used to film her television commercials. She also rejected a combined campaign with the other justices, and Reynoso and Grodin finally settled on efforts that unsucessfully tried to distinguish their records from Bird's. In the closing days of the campaign, both Grodin and Reynoso aired commercials seeking to bolster their law-and-order credentials. Reynoso's commercials noted he had voted for the death penalty, omitting that he had done so on only one occasion, and Grodin's talked about his endorsements from a couple of police labor groups.

	Confirm	Reject
Rose Bird	2,369,063 (34%)	**4,622,066 (66%)**
Cruz Reynoso	2,536,114 (40%)	**3,874,601 (60%)**
Joseph R. Grodin	2,741,962 (43%)	**3,570,569 (57%)**
Stanley Mosk	**4,472,678 (74%)**	1,604,806 (26%)
Edward A. Panelli	**4,648,505 (79%)**	1,260,385 (21%)
Malcolm M. Lucas	**4,692,329 (80%)**	1,211,013 (21%)

On election night, less than two hours after the polls closed, Bird conceded she had been beaten. Thanking those who had voted for her, she went on to say she appreciated that "some people within our state are impatient, impatient to see executions. But I say to those who voted for us today that . . . you still can fight to ensure that we retain this house of justice. I don't think anybody in this state will sit easy if in fact this becomes a Court that ensures nothing but executions to appease the overweening and insatiable appetite of ambitious politicians."

During the course of the campaign, Bird's backers predicted dire consequences for the state's court system if she and the other two Brown appointees were defeated. A picture was painted of a judiciary testing the political winds before each decision was made. Deukmejian was accused of seeking their ouster in order to "pack" the Court with his own choices. Her opponents countered that it was Bird who had politicized the judiciary, straining the law to meet her own philosophical objections to the death penalty.

Probably, Deukmejian will have more to say about the future of the judiciary in the state than anyone else. If his nominations are rigidly ideological, it might set the stage for further political battles. But if his appointments to this point are any indication, he more likely will settle on moderate conservatives with extensive judicial experience. He is also being urged by some to select a woman or Hispanic to deflect criticism that Bird and Reynoso suffered because of these factors. If he follows these urgings, and his own pattern, the quality of his appointments could do much to make the removal of the three justices an isolated incident on the political landscape rather than the foundations of a highway that will be followed in future years.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR

McCarthy

Curb

Yes, Virginia, there was a 1986 campaign for that mostly irrelevant job of lieutenant governor. Pretty, it wasn't. Both candidates had served as the state's lieutenant governor and each spent about $3.5 million for a repeat performance. But it was as though incumbent Democrat Leo McCarthy and former Republican Lieutenant Governor Mike Curb were on different planets, hurling insults and grime at each other across a huge void.

The campaign was intense, nasty, expensive and at times

Leo T. McCarthy (D-I)	**3,879,705**	**54%**
Mike Curb (R)	3,044,363	42%
James C. Griffin (AIP)	102,299	1%
Norma J. Almodovar (L)	87,943	1%
Clyde Kuhn (P&F)	65,364	1%

punctuated with ludicrous behavior. For instance, using an alias, Curb's campaign manager called a radio talk show in Los Angeles to berate McCarthy, the show's guest. For his part, McCarthy argued that Curb's often-minimal connection with several violent movies from the 1960s proved that Curb himself was some kind of ethical derelict unfit for public office. As a result of these attacks, Curb sued McCarthy for libel.

Aside from perfunctory media blitzes, the two candidates ran decidedly different campaigns. McCarthy traveled the state, speaking to just about any gathering that would have him. He met often with the press, challenged Curb to a series of debates, then hammered incessantly at his opponent's refusal to accept. And he based his campaign on the distinction between his and Curb's political records, touting his legislative accomplishments both as lieutenant governor and as a former speaker of the Assembly.

Curb, on the other hand, ran as close to a rose garden campaign as one can get without a rose garden. For the most part, Curb's entire campaign was carried out by media advertising. He refused to hold press conferences and made few speeches except to controlled groups of supporters. His campaign centered on Curb's total pledge of loyalty to Governor Deukmejian and his opposition to Supreme Court Chief Justice Rose Bird.

In the end Curb could not snuggle close enough to Deukmejian to hide from his own past. McCarthy consistently reminded voters that Curb had once described the job as "a waste of time." He also reminded voters that Curb's harshest critic four years ago was his Republican gubernatorial opponent — George Deukmejian.

One other candidate added zest, if nothing else, to the race — Libertarian Norma Jean Almodovar. A former traffic cop and admitted prostitute, Almodovar spiced her effort with a series of three posters showing the candidate in various stages of undress. She finished a distant fourth.

SECRETARY OF STATE

Secretary of State March Fong Eu whomped Republican challenger Bruce Nestande on her way to a fourth term as the state's election officer, coasting to victory with a 40 percent vote margin over the former assemblyman. Nestande, an Orange County supervisor, ran a low-key campaign, ad-

March Fong Eu (D-I)	**4,871,269**	**69%**
Bruce Nestande (R)	1,859,805	26%
Gloria Garcia (P&F)	150,331	2%
Richard Winger (L)	103,496	2%
Theresa Dietrich (AIP)	79,929	1%

mitting his chances for victory rested with a Deukmejian landslide big enough to whisk the corps of Republican challengers into office. The voters gave Deukmejian the landslide but stopped well short of electing the whole GOP team.

The run for secretary of state was a second choice for Nestande who originally planned a shot at the lieutenant governor spot. He scratched that decision when Mike Curb wanted his old job back. In an effort to avoid an expensive primary race against a well-known fellow Republican, Nestande opted for a near-certain suicide run against the popular Eu.

As for the winner, Eu's smashing victory has once again confirmed her immense popularity with California's electorate. That may be an important factor as the secretary of state considers a run for U.S. Senate in 1988, a possibility at which she has already hinted.

CONTROLLER

Davis

Campbell

When it came to the final clash over the controller's seat, it didn't take long for candidates Gray Davis and Bill Campbell to fall off the "high road" campaign they proudly claimed to maintain during the bruising primary. Although the general election campaign for the only open, statewide job started slowly — it was virtually invisible through mid-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

September — Democratic Assemblyman Davis and Republican state Senator Campbell came out swinging in the final weeks. And they had a lot of dollars behind their punches; Davis spent at least $1.1 million between June and November, Campbell at least $1.3 million.

Davis and Campbell, who waged the hottest campaign among the lesser constitutional officers, were the survivors of a large corps of candidates who dove into the controller's race when incumbent Democrat Ken Cory announced two days before the filing deadline he would not seek reelection. With other constitutional offices held by well-entrenched incumbents, many of the state's ambitious politicians saw the controller's race as a rare opportunity to gain statewide recognition and a leg up on legislators come the 1990 gubernatorial elections.

Fall campaign issues echoed those in the primary, ranging from Davis' tenure as chief of staff to former Governor Jerry Brown to Campbell's poor attendance record as a legislator. Each of the candidates suffered new vulnerabilities in the waning days of the campaign — Davis' finance chairman was forced out in September when it was disclosed that he was convicted in the 1970s of state and federal obscenity charges, and in October it was revealed that Campbell had received

Gray Davis (D)	**3,603,026**	**52%**
Bill Campbell (R)	3,072,945	44%
Carolyn Treynor (L)	138,482	2%
John Haag (P&F)	95,716	1%
Nicholas Kudrovzeff (AIP)	70,933	1%

$1000 in 1977 from convicted political corrupter Patrick Moriarty — a fact the candidate had repeatedly denied.

Polls throughout the campaign showed support see-sawing from one candidate to the other, while a large chunk of voters remained undecided. Although an early-October *California Poll* indicated a two-point lead for Campbell, the final poll, taken in late October, showed Davis with a 17-point lead, a margin twice his eventual eight-point victory.

Although the candidates, both from the Los Angeles area, benefited in the primary from a strong north-south split in the vote, they had to compete head-on for Southern votes in November. Campbell swept traditional Republican areas in Orange and San Diego counties while Davis captured populous Los Angeles County and picked up more Democratic areas in Northern California.

What remains to be seen is whether Davis will attempt to follow in the footsteps of his former boss, Jerry Brown, who turned the previously modest responsibilities of secretary of state into a stepping stone to the governor's office.

ATTORNEY GENERAL

The biggest surprise here is that Republican challenger Bruce Gleason managed to snag almost 30 percent of the vote against incumbent Democrat John Van de Kamp. The 62-year-old Panorama City attorney ran a near-penniless and invisible campaign with no support from the Republican Party, which seemed to have written off his chances for an upset. Even Gleason's campaign manager, Frank Schubert, admitted the challenger's major hope was for long Deukmejian coattails, which never materialized.

Van de Kamp — whose opposition to the death penalty and support for Rose Bird could have caused problems had he faced a more formidable opponent — has positioned himself as a major contender for the 1990 gubernatorial nomination with his easy and resounding two-to-one victory. That may

John Van de Kamp (D-I)	**4,595,704**	**66%**
Bruce Gleason (R)	2,065,481	30%
Carol L. Newman (L)	126,030	2%
Robert J. Evans (P&F)	86,894	1%
Gary R. Odom (AIP)	79,477	1%

make Republicans, including George Deukmejian, regret they didn't mount a stronger challenge against Van de Kamp this time around.

TREASURER

Incumbent Democratic Treasurer Jesse Unruh stole the top vote-getter title from perennial favorite March Fong Eu as he garnered 5,473,978 tallies, or 83 percent of the vote. The absence of a major party opponent might have had something to do with Unruh's overwhelming victory — his only challenges came from the American Independent, Libertarian and Peace and Freedom parties.

Since his debut as a power broker during John F. Kennedy's campaign for the presidential nomination in 1960, the 64-year-old Unruh has evolved into a California political institution. He has left his mark on state politics with, for example, his creation of the modern Assembly speakership during the early '60s, into which he consolidated unprecedented power in his own hands.

He first won his current job in 1974 and during his three terms has again consolidated power around his very own desk — this time as founding father and motivating force behind a powerful coalition of private and public pension funds known as the Council of Institutional Investors (see "Guardian angel on Wall Street," *CJ*, August 1985).

The well-entrenched incumbent may find he has to work a bit harder for his share of the limelight this time around, however. The new Democratic Controller Gray Davis, who

Jesse M. Unruh (D-I)	**5,473,978**	**83%**
Ray Cullen (L)	555,641	8%
Merton D. Short (AIP)	348,730	5%
Maureen Smith (P&F)	235,355	4%

has a well-established reputation as an ambitious politician, will sit on many of the pension fund boards with Unruh. The alliance between Unruh and Davis may well be an uneasy one — Unruh won the treasurer's job back in 1974 by jumping into the Democratic primary at the last minute and thus sandbagging the young neophyte politician who all but had the nomination wrapped up — Gray Davis.

BOARD OF EQUALIZATION

There were no big surprises in the final vote for Board of Equalization — Democratic state Senator Paul Carpenter

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

easily defeated his Republican opponent, R. Stanley Jones, in their contest for the only open district seat, and incumbents coasted to victory in the other three districts.

Although some of the primary candidates for the District 4 seat vacated by 28-year veteran Richard Nevins were seeking a stepping stone to higher office, Carpenter admitted the slower pace of the tax board attracted him. The Cypress senator's victory leaves his 33rd Senate District seat vacant, requiring Governor Deukmejian to call a special election early next year. Senate President pro Tem David Roberti admits the Democrats will face an uphill battle to keep the seat on their side of the aisle.

Carpenter, whose board district includes all of Los Angeles County except the Santa Monica-Malibu area, argued during

DISTRICT 1		
William M. Bennett (D-I)	**1,047,655**	**56%**
Gene Prat (R)	732,657	39%
Toni Novac (P&F)	87,577	5%
DISTRICT 2		
Conway H. Collis (D-I)	**898,095**	**54%**
Claude W. Parrish (R)	704,659	42%
Roberto Lovato (P&F)	63,989	4%
DISTRICT 3		
Ernest Dronenburg (R-I)	**1,001,059**	**60%**
Mark F. Buckley (D)	576,644	35%
Jack R. Sanders (L)	56,239	3%
Maxine B. Quirk (P&F)	37,280	2%
DISTRICT 4		
Paul Carpenter (D)	**780,394**	**58%**
R. S. Jones (R)	498,517	37%
Lewis McCammon (P&F)	38,136	3%
Stephen Malmburg (L)	36,353	3%

his campaign that he will bring badly-needed legislative experience to the tax board.

Incumbent Conway Collis, a proven fund raiser who made his reputation filling Alan Cranston's campaign coffers, had an easy time of it in District 2 against Republican Claude Parrish, a business executive and controller from Studio

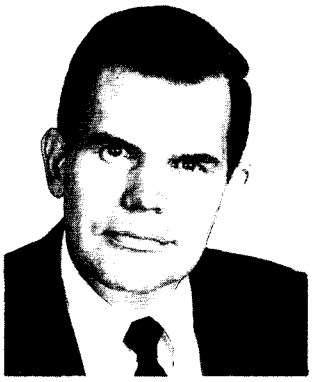
Bennett

Collis

City. Collis' first run for the board in 1982 was a second choice; he first sought the 43rd Assembly District seat but was frustrated in his attempts when the Berman-Waxman machine determined that the 43rd should belong to Gray Davis. Collis compensation was an appointment to the board to replace George Reilly who conveniently retired early. His 2nd District extends from the San Joaquin Valley south to Los Angeles and includes San Francisco.

District 3 incumbent Ernie Dronenburg, the board's only Republican, breezed through the November contest after

Carpenter



Dronenburg

surviving a close (for the board) primary. Dronenburg first won his seat in 1978 by ousting an incumbent and has made no secret of his desire to move up. He contemplated a run for controller early this year but wasn't geared up enough to take advantage of incumbent Ken Cory's last-minute decision to step aside.

For now, Dronenburg is comfortably ensconced in District 3, which runs as far north as Mono County and takes in a lot of empty territory along the state's eastern border before picking up Orange and San Diego counties.

District 1 incumbent Bill Bennett, a 16-year veteran and new dean of the board, boasts that he has never accepted a campaign contribution. Lack of money didn't trouble Bennett in his race with Kentfield Republican Gene Prat. Bennett's district takes in 33 counties and covers the northern third of the state.

All four board members should feel secure in their $80,000-a-year jobs — in the 107-year history of the board, only four incumbents have lost reelection bids.

PROPOSITIONS

There was very little ambiguity in the returns on November ballot measures. The narrowest margin was 16 points (on Proposition 62), as state voters approved 11 of 13 measures on a slate that included four bond acts, four legislative constitutional amendments and five initiatives.

As in elections past, the most visible battles were waged over the initiatives. When the votes had been tallied, voters nixed government employee pay limits and AIDS quarantines and gave the nod to tougher controls on toxic substances, English as California's official state language, and two-thirds voter approval for new local taxes.

Proposition 61 attracted the best-financed opposition largely because it had every state employee quaking in his or her boots. The handiwork of political gadfly Paul Gann, Prop 61 would have overhauled state laws governing compensation for elected and appointed officials as well as laws dealing with public contracting. The constitutional amendment set the governor's salary at $80,000 and that of other constitutional officers at $52,500. Compensation for all other state employees, and for individuals who contract with government, was capped at 80 percent of the governor's salary, or $64,000 annually. In addition, the Gann initiative banned the accumulation of vacation and sick leave.

The potential problems with implementation of the initiative were legion, a fact opponents didn't hestitate to point out to voters. The meaning of "compensation" was vague — if compensation were determined to be a combination of salary and fringe benefits, the salary limit would actually have been about $50,000. And the estimated $250 million payroll savings to state and local governments could have been wiped

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

out by the Legislature's use of the "special circumstances" provision to raise contract compensation to make up the difference in salary limitations; governments' increase of non-salary benefits to keep total pay packages competitive; or the cost of expensive substitute workers hired toward the end of a calendar year (because vacation time cannot be transferred from year to year).

Proposition 61 opponents, including lawyers, public employees, education officials, prosecutors and police organizations, outspent Gann $5 million to $64,436. They argued their ranks would be decimated by the proposition because uncompetitve salaries would make it impossible to hire and retain hard-working and talented personnel. The argument

Proposition 53 — Education Bond	
Yes	**4,015,176 (61%)**
No	2,595,357 (39%)
Proposition 54 — New Prison Bond	
Yes	**4,374,979 (65%)**
No	2,324,952 (35%)
Proposition 55 — Drinking Water Bond	
Yes	**5,290,962 (79%)**
No	1,434,986 (21%)
Proposition 56 — College Building Act	
Yes	**3,981,501 (60%)**
No	2,691,612 (40%)
Proposition 57 — Retirement	
Yes	**4,745,449 (73%)**
No	1,786,442 (27%)
Proposition 58 — Taxes-Ownership	
Yes	**4,999,362 (76%)**
No	1,605,550 (24%)
Proposition 59 — Elected D.A.	
Yes	**5,306,533 (82%)**
No	1,141,011 (18%)
Proposition 60 — Taxes-Cash Value	
Yes	**5,011,754 (77%)**
No	1,497,475 (23%)
Proposition 61 — Gann-Fair Pay	
Yes	2,290,184 (34%)
No	**4,428,708 (66%)**
Proposition 62 — Jarvis-Taxes	
Yes	**3,765,074 (58%)**
No	2,741,297 (42%)
Proposition 63 — English Only	
Yes	**5,016,556 (73%)**
No	1,837,803 (27%)
Proposition 64 — AIDS	
Yes	1,991,672 (29%)
No	**4,879,641 (71%)**
Proposition 65 — Toxic Disclosure	
Yes	**4,299,207 (63%)**
No	2,573,921 (37%)

apparently worked — according to Mervin Field's exit polls, the majority of those who voted against Prop 61 did so because they believed the state would lose valuable employees if the salary limits were enacted.

Although ambiguities and apparent loopholes helped defeat Prop 61, the same arguments failed to hold water in the campaign against Prop 65, the toxic initiative. In that multimillion dollar campaign, the claim by opponents that the so-called "clean-water initiative" was filled with exemptions failed to convince voters. Proposition 65 prohibits businesses from knowingly releasing chemicals that cause cancer or reproductive disorders into drinking water sources, and requires those businesses to warn people before knowingly and intentionally exposing them to the chemicals. And the measure allows state and local governments to sue those who break the law.

Opponents, including oil and chemical businesses and farm groups, criticized the measure's exemption of public agencies, including publicly-owned nuclear power plants, public water systems, military bases and county landfills. Governor Deukmejian opposed Prop 65 as a "transparently political" vehicle for Tom Bradley whose aides helped draft it.

Supporters claimed the measure applied to the big businesses who produce most of California's hazardous wastes. "Yes on 65"added spice to the heated campaign with a star-studded bus tour intended to inform voters and raise money for the campaign while anonymous supporters plastered "No on 65" billboards throughout the state with signs claiming the billboard had been "paid for by Chevron — major California polluter." Chevron was a major contributor to the "No on 65" effort.

Another emotional campaign centered around Proposition 64, the AIDS initiative sponsored by supporters of Lyndon LaRouche. Overwhelmingly defeated by the voters, Prop 64 declared AIDS an infectious, contagious and communicable disease and provided for isolation and quarantine of affected persons.

Opponents, who spent $1.9 million to supporters' $44,000, argued the initiative could actually hinder the medical community's ability to treat and find a cure for AIDS by making people reluctant to be tested because of a fear of quarantine or isolation. They also pointed out that no one has contracted the disease from casual contact and said the initiative promotes panic and dangerous misconceptions.

Beyond the issue itself, the LaRouche group was the sub ject of an investigation by the state attorney general's office for using out-of-state circulators to qualify the initiative for the ballot.

Proposition 63, which declares English as California's official language and requires the Legislature to enforce the provision, won a landslide victory, 73 to 27 percent. Proponents argued that English is threatened by immigrants who won't learn the language and that the measure will save the state money in bilingual translation and printing costs. Opponents, including Governor Deukmejian, argued that Prop 63 will do nothing positive to increase English proficiency and may trigger the loss of bilingual emergency services and prompt a glut of frivolous lawsuits.

None of the other ballot issues generated much controversy. Voters easily passed Proposition 62, the final measure by the late Howard Jarvis, which will require a two-thirds vote of a governing body and by a majority of the people before general taxes can be raised and will require local agencies to stop collecting any new or higher general taxes adopted after July 31, 1985, unless a majority of voters approve them by November 5, 1988.

Propositions 58 and 60 both aimed at quirks in Proposition 13 and both won large victories, which may cause additional losses to cities, counties and districts through lower property tax revenues. Proposition 58 will prohibit reassessment of real property transferred among family members and Proposition 60 will allow people over 55 years of age to transfer the assessed value of their present home to a replacement home of equal or lesser value in the same county to avoid a jump in property taxes.

California voters also said yes to Proposition 57 which limits big retirement checks for 18 former officeholders whose pensions are tied to current salaries rather than to what they earned while in office. And Proposition 59, the measure requiring the election of county district attorneys, won big.

Voters also gave approval to $1.8 billion in bonds for public and postsecondary school construction; prison construction and refurbishing; and to upgrade drinking-water systems.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CONGRESS

The state's new congressional delegation looks an awful lot like the old one, with Democrats continuing to hold 27 seats to 18 for the Republicans. The lack of movement is one of the most lasting legacies of the late Democratic Congressman Phil Burton, the political artist who drew the last congressional reapportionment boundaries. Burton created districts where incumbents were virtually unassailable, and where real competition between the parties is unlikely.

There will be three new members of the congressional delegation, all Republicans and all replacing Republican incumbents. Each won with little difficulty. In the 2nd District, left open by the retirement of Gene Chappie, Assemblyman Wally Herger collected 58 percent of the vote in beating Shasta County Supervisor Steve Swendiman who some thought had an outside chance of staging an upset. In the 12th District, Assemblyman Ernie Konnyu received more than 59 percent of the vote to take over the seat formerly held by Ed Zschau. And in the 21st District, Simi Valley Mayor Elton Gallegly won 68 percent of the vote to replace Congresswoman Bobbi Fiedler who gave up the spot to run for the U. S. Senate.

The two parties made a real fight of it only in the 38th District where Assembly Democrat Richard Robinson gave up his seat (one that might have been taken away from him in any case) to challenge the flamboyant and outspoken Republican, "B-1" Bob Dornan. A lot of money was spent in the contest, but in the end, the Republican registration margin was too great for Robinson — or probably any Democrat — to overcome.

Some pretense of a fight was also waged in the 36th District where Republicans view crusty liberal George Brown as out of step with his rapidly changing constituency in Riverside and San Bernardino counties. Despite that, however, Brown won reelection by the same 15-point margin he has maintained for the past several elections.

Despite the static nature of this year's outcome, there are some signs things may be different in the future, probably to the benefit of the state's Republicans. Although incumbent Democrats were easily returned to office, the registration advantages in some districts are deteriorating rapidly. Should an incumbent falter — or leave office — these districts could change hands. There is also the possibility that new district lines, to be drawn after the 1990 census, will not be as favorable should Democrats lose control of one house of the Legislature or should Republicans retain control of the governorship.

In the meantime, Phil Burton can rest easy with the notion that his "great work of art," as his Democratic colleagues call it, has once again done what it was designed to do.

District 1 (57% D - 33% R)

Bosco (D-I)	**135,161 (68%)**
Sampson (R)	53,098 (27%)
McFarland (P&F)	11,796 (6%)

Democrats actually gained some in registration in this North Coast district, which returned Doug Bosco for his third term by his biggest margin ever.

District 2 (48% D - 41% R)

Herger (R)	**108,191 (58%)**
Swendiman (D)	74,080 (40%)
Pendery (L)	3,988 (2%)

This was one of the few open seats in the state because of the retirement of Republican Gene Chappie. Democrats at one point thought they might have a chance with popular Shasta County Supervisor Steve Swendiman. But Swendiman barely survived the primary, and Democrats, taking a closer look at the registration, provided him with no help. The result was a comfortable victory for former Assemblyman Wally Herger.

Key to symbols:
D = Democrat
R = Republican
IND = Independent
AIP = American Independent Party
L = Libertarian
P&F = Peace and Freedom
-I = Incumbent
(%) = vote percentages are rounded to the nearest whole number, accounting for the fact that some races generated more than 100 percent of the vote.
Source for all vote totals — secretary of state and various county registrars.

District 3 (56% D - 34% R)

Matsui (D-I)	**156,667 (76%)**
Landowski (R)	49,524 (24%)

Incumbent Robert Matsui ran the last two times without a Republican opponent. Just in case, he took no chances winning a fifth term, filling Sacramento television with commercials even though his opponent was able to muster only a meager effort. He was one of the few candidates in the state who could afford to take the high road, his ads touting him as "the ethical man."

District 4 (55% D - 33% R)

Fazio (D-I)	**126,606 (70%)**
Hite (R)	53,768 (30%)

Fazio's major concern, after winning a fifth term in Congress, will be his low-key effort to become head of the Democratic caucus' campaign committee next year.

District 5 (64% D - 20% R)

Burton (D-I)	**122,140 (75%)**
Garza (R)	35,877 (22%)
Grove (L)	2,396 (2%)
Zuur (P&F)	2,059 (1%)

Burton had no difficulty winning reelection despite spending much of the election season in the hospital.

District 6 (58% D - 27% R)

Boxer (D-I)	**140,699 (74%)**
Ernst (R)	49,671 (26%)

Boxer easily beat a La Rouche supporter in the primary and had little more trouble with her Republican opponent in the general.

District 7 (55% D - 34% R)

Miller (D-I)	**122,918 (67%)**
Thakar (R)	61,546 (33%)

Democratic registration continues to slip in this Contra Costa County district. But George Miller continues to win two-thirds of the vote every two years. He did again in November for his seventh trip to Congress.

District 8 (63% D - 25% R)

Dellums (D-I)	**120,369 (60%)**
Eigenberg (R)	75,754 (38%)
Manuel (P&F)	4,240 (2%)

The voters around Oakland like the liberal Dellums style, returning him for a ninth term in Congress.

District 9 (59% D - 29% R)

Stark (D-I)	**112,592 (70%)**
Williams (R)	48,695 (30%)

Be it packaging executive Williams, or J.T. Eager Beaver, the man he beat two years ago, Stark continues to collect about 70 percent of the vote, as he did again for his eighth trip to Washington.

District 10 (59% D - 28% R)

Edwards (D-I)	**83,039 (71%)**
La Crone (R)	31,137 (27%)
Cardestam (L)	1,757 (2%)
Mayer (P&F)	1,662 (1%)

Edwards has spent 24 years representing the folks in San Jose. They gave him two more.

District 11 (55% D - 32% R)

Lantos (D-I)	**110,245 (74%)**
Quraishi (R)	38,617 (26%)

San Mateo's Tom Lantos just keeps getting more popular with his district's voters. This will be his fourth term in Congress.

District 12 (43% D - 43% R)

Konnyu (R)	**108,860 (59%)**
Weil (D)	68,386 (37%)
White (L)	6,093 (3%)

This is the seat Ed Zschau gave up to run for the U. S. Senate. The real contest was in the primary, where Assemblyman Ernie Konnyu beat three opponents for the nomination. Democrats had some hopes that Konnyu would be a little rough around the edges for sophisticated Silicon Valley. But they failed to attract a strong candidate, and Konnyu easily won a seat he should be able to hold for many years.

Konnyu

District 13 (50% D - 37% R)

Mineta (D-I)	**106,064 (70%)**
Nash (R)	45,755 (30%)

One day, when Norman Mineta finds something else to do, the Republicans figure they will win this San Jose district where Democratic regis-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tration is steadily dropping. In the meantime, 70 percent of the district's voters gave their former mayor a sixth term.

District 14 (47% D - 42% R)

Shumway (R-I)	**144,775 (72%)**
Steele (D)	52,865 (26%)
Daniel (L)	4,560 (2%)

Shumway had no trouble winning his fifth term over farmer and retired Marine Steele.

District 15 (57% D - 35% R)

Coelho (D-I)	**91,365 (71%)**
Harner (R)	34,872 (27%)
Harris (L)	2,351 (2%)

Coelho, who expects to be the House whip next year, spent all his time campaigning for congressional candidates in other states. That only made him more popular than ever with his constituents.

District 16 (51% D - 36% R)

Panetta (D-I)	**126,133 (78%)**
Darrigo (R)	30,801 (19%)
Anderson (L)	1,914 (1%)
Wright (P&F)	1,987 (1%)

Republicans keep watching the Democratic registration drop in this district and make muttering noises about how it should belong to them. Then Leon Panetta upsets their plans by winning 78 percent of the vote.

District 17 (51% D - 41% R)

Pashayan (R-I)	**87,286 (60%)**
Hartnett (D)	57,735 (40%)

Democrats kept talking about making a play for this district. They thought they had a good candidate in Hartnett, who has been an aide to Representative Rick Lehman. Actually, he did about 10 percentage points better than Pashayan's last opponent, which means the incumbent only won this time by a 20-point margin.

District 18 (59% D - 33% R)

Lehman (D-I)	**99,104 (71%)**
Crevelt (R)	39,838 (29%)

Lehman easily won his third term in Congress.

District 19 (46% D - 41% R)

Lagomarsino (R-I)	**117,320 (72%)**
Norris (D)	44,101 (27%)
Hasara (L)	2,275 (1%)

A seventh term for Lagomarsino.

District 20 (44% D - 47% R)

Thomas (R-I)	**127,298 (73%)**
Moquin (D)	48,093 (27%)

Thomas starts his fifth term in Congress next year.

District 21 (37% D - 52% R)

Gallegly (R)	**126,721 (68%)**
Saldana (D)	53,028 (29%)
Wiener (L)	6,317 (3%)

Gallegly

The interesting part of the race for the district Bobbi Fiedler gave up for her ill-fated run for the U. S. Senate took place in the primary when Simi Valley Mayor Elton Gallegly beat Tony Hope, son of comedian Bob Hope, in the primary. After that it was an easy ride to Congress. The real loser in this district is Assemblyman Tom McClintock who was scared out of seeking the seat when Hope got in the race.

District 22 (35% D - 56% R)

Moorhead (R-I)	**136,315 (74%)**
Simmons (D)	42,839 (23%)
Bergland (L)	3,012 (2%)
Lorimer (P&F)	2,845 (2%)

Is Carlos Moorhead slipping? Two years ago, he collected 85 percent of the vote; this year only 74 percent. He can spend his eighth term pondering that question.

District 23 (53% D - 38% R)

Beilenson (D-I)	**117,849 (66%)**
Woolverton (R)	56,537 (32%)
Rhodes (L)	1,943 (1%)
Hopke (P&F)	2,439 (1%)

This is another district where Republicans watch the registration change and think this might be the year where they can surprise 10-year veteran Beilenson. But each time, he wins more than 60 percent of the vote.

District 24 (58% D - 29% R)

Waxman (D-I)	**100,607 (88%)**
Abrahams (L)	8,490 (7%)
Green (P&F)	5,205 (5%)

Republicans didn't even bother to find someone to oppose Waxman.

District 25 (69% D - 21% R)

Roybal (D-I)	**60,959 (76%)**
Hardy (R)	16,763 (21%)
Brown (L)	2,102 (3%)

Twenty-four year veteran Roybal starts his 13th term in office.

District 26 (56% D - 35% R)

Berman (D-I)	**95,582 (65%)**
Kerns (R)	51,155 (35%)

Berman had no trouble beating businessman Kerns for a third term in Congress.

District 27 (54% D - 35% R)

Levine (D-I)	**107,672 (64%)**
Scribner (R)	57,386 (34%)
Leathers (L)	1,383 (1%)
O'Connor (P&F)	2,036 (1%)

Two years ago former Los Angeles Ram Rob Scribner surprised incumbent Mel Levine who managed to win only 53 percent of the vote. This time, Levine decided to campaign.

District 28 (72% D - 19% R)

Dixon (D-I)	**90,630 (77%)**
Adams (R)	25,003 (21%)
Johnson (L)	2,760 (2%)

It's the fifth term for incumbent Dixon.

District 29 (83% D - 11% R)

Hawkins (D-I)	**76,398 (85%)**
Van de Brooke (R)	13,089 (15%)
Boctor (L)	825 (1%)

Gus Hawkins has been in Congress since 1962. There was no way that Republican John Van de Brooke — who lives outside the district in Sunnyvale — was going to beat him in the most Democratic district in the state.

District 30 (60% D - 31% R)

Martinez (D-I)	**57,911 (63%)**
Almquist (R)	32,664 (35%)
Goldsworthy (L)	1,853 (2%)

After two tough election campaigns, Marty Martinez finally got a chance to coast home.

District 31 (71% D - 21% R)

Dymally (D-I)	**76,209 (71%)**
McMurray (R)	29,603 (27%)
Duren (P&F)	2,283 (2%)

A routine win for Dymally, a former lieutenant governor, who now gets a fourth term.

District 32 (56% D - 34% R)

Anderson (D-I)	**89,047 (69%)**
Robertson (R)	37,954 (29%)
Donohue (P&F)	2,738 (2%)

Democratic registration continues to drop in this district. But Glenn Anderson's share of the vote just keeps going up.

District 33 (43% D - 48% R)

Dreier (R-I)	**115,648 (72%)**
Hempel (D)	43,510 (27%)
Noonan (P&F)	2,437 (2%)

David Dreier wins a third term.

District 34 (61% D - 30% R)

Torres (D-I)	**65,307 (61%)**
House (R)	42,717 (40%)

Torres had no more trouble beating Deputy Sheriff Charles House than he had against his last opponent who he beat in the two prior elections.

District 35 (39% D - 50% R)

Lewis (R-I)	**124,953 (77%)**
Hall (D)	37,742 (23%)

Jerry Lewis once thought about leaving Congress to run for statewide office. He likes it now, and apparently can stay as long as he wants.

District 36 (55% D - 35% R)

Brown (D-I)	**77,242 (57%)**
Henley (R)	57,804 (43%)

With nowhere else to look, Republicans figured they might be able to knock off 22-year veteran George Brown. After all, the district is rapidly moving toward the Republican category, and Colton businessman Bob Henley, a new challenger for liberal Brown, looked like a great candidate. But Brown proved again he's not easy to beat, collecting 57 percent of the district vote.

District 37 (44% D - 47% R)

McCandless (R-I)	**120,437 (64%)**
Skinner (D)	68,905 (36%)

A replay of 1984 when McCandless beat perrenial candidate David Skinner by exactly the same margin.

District 38 (49% D - 42% R)

Dornan (R-I)	**64,843 (55%)**
Robinson (D)	49,744 (42%)
Connelly (L)	2,757 (2%)

While this race wasn't close, it was fun. Incumbent "B-1" Bob Dornan, who before he had won reelection was quoted as saying he might consider a run for the U. S. Senate, and Assemblyman Richard Robinson are two of the most combative, outspoken candidates around. And in the absence of any really competitive contests, Democrats were willing to heavily finance the challenger who portrayed Dornan as spending all his time on worthless foreign policy efforts while ignoring the needs of his Orange County constituents. But the race really got interesting when each accused the other of falsifying his military record. Dornan was in the Air Force and Robinson, the Marines. But in the end, Robinson just couldn't find enough Democratic voters — or Republican defectors — to wrest the seat from Dornan.

District 39 (34% D - 56% R)

Dannemeyer (R-I)	**129,210 (74%)**
Vest (D)	41,806 (24%)
Boeheim (P&F)	2,704 (2%)

Bill Dannemeyer might have run for the U. S. Senate last year with a stuffed turkey as his campaign mascot, but his conservative positions mean more to his Orange County constit-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

uents who gave him his fifth term in Congress.

District 40 (31% D - 59% R)

Badham (R-I)	**116,556 (60%)**
Sumner (D)	73,964 (38%)
Sears (P&F)	4,914 (3%)

Incumbent Robert Badham, who has been hit with the charge that he's one of Congress' foremost junketeers, almost lucked out when the only Democrat on the primary ballot was a follower of Lyndon LaRouche. But Orange County Democratic Party Chairman Bruce Sumner won with a write-in effort and then went on to make a creditable showing against Badham whose 60 percent of the vote is not so good in a district where 59 percent of the voters are Republicans.

District 41 (38% D - 49% R)

Lowery (R-I)	**131,323 (68%)**
Kripke (D)	58,986 (30%)
Rider (L)	3,480 (2%)

Bill Lowery wins his fourth term in Congress.

District 42 (38% D - 52% R)

Lungren (R-I)	**136,242 (73%)**
Blackburn (D)	46,556 (25%)
McClatchy (P&F)	4,658 (3%)

Dan Lungren had a serious flirtation with a run for U. S. Senate but settled for a fifth term in the House.

District 43 (31% D - 56% R)

Packard (R-I)	**132,935 (73%)**
Chirra (D)	43,926 (24%)
Avery (L)	5,199 (3%)

The only time Packard had to struggle for this seat was 1982 when he first won it as a write-in.

District 44 (56% D - 32% R)

Bates (D-I)	**63,800 (64%)**
Mitchell (R)	34,084 (34%)
Thompson (L)	1,125 (1%)
Isaacson (P&F)	1,521 (2%)

Another district Republicans think is slipping into their column — but not as long as Bates holds it.

District 45 (39% D - 49% R)

Hunter (R-I)	**115,638 (77%)**
Ryan (D)	31,978 (21%)
Schwartz (L)	2,889 (2%)

Duncan Hunter got 75 percent of the vote two years ago. He did two points better this year.

STATE SENATE

After the money had been spent, the television spots aired and the votes cast for state Senate, 1986 turned out to be a year where neither Republicans nor Democrats did as well as expected or hoped. On paper the Democrats' 26-14 pre-election margin was cut to 24-15-1, which should have produced a smile or two from Republicans. But the loss of two seats isn't so bad considering that 16 Democrats stood for election compared to only four Republicans.

Also, the GOP failed to oust its two most-targeted Democratic incumbents — Leroy Greene (6th District) and Dan McCorquodale (12th) — despite spending about a million dollars against each. The effort against Greene marked a particularly galling loss, for the incumbent was perceived as vulnerable on both issues and personality while Republican Sandy Smoley was a popular county supervisor with strong name identification throughout the Sacramento area. But Smoley's effort will go down as a classic "how not to run a campaign." She neglected to run on her own record, and her negative attacks on Greene sank so low in the gutter they made national news.

Republicans did take two seats away from Democrats, however. Assemblyman Don Rogers won the 16th District which had been represented by retiring Senate dean Walter Stiern. And independent San Francisco Supervisor Quentin Kopp turned back the effort of Democratic Assemblyman Lou Papan to move into the seat being vacated by the retirement of John Foran. Republicans helped finance Kopp's effort and persuaded their own candidate, Russell Gray, to withdraw and endorse Kopp.

The Democrats' hold on the Senate appears safe but, as with the Assembly, Republican registration gains in a number of areas threaten the Democrats' 24-15-1 margin. Actually, the margin is 23-15-1-1, with the last digit representing a soon-to-be-vacant 33rd District. Incumbent Democrat Paul Carpenter won his race for the state Board of Equalization and will leave the Senate in January. A special election will be held early in 1987 to replace Carpenter. The district, split between Los Angeles and Orange counties, is considered marginal, with registration favoring Democrats by a 54-38 margin. Carpenter himself barely won it in 1984, and GOP registration has increased two points in the intervening two years.

Carpenter's departure highlights the Democrats' dilemma. Three other Democratic senators who represent very marginal districts could also move on in the next four years (Hart in the 18th, Presley in the 36th and Deddeh in the 40th), making the joust for control of the Senate — and reapportionment — in 1990 the most entertaining and vital legislative election in years.

District 2 (58% D - 30% R)

Keene (D-I)	**113,707 (56%)**
Brann (R)	83,002 (41%)
Elizondo (F&F)	5,349 (3%)

Republicans had slim hopes of capturing this coastal district which extends from Marin County to the Oregon border and is politically schizophrenic — split between environmentalists and the timber industry. They based their hope on incumbent Barry Keene being perceived as too liberal. But Keene, the Senate's majority leader, won all five counties in the district to beat back challenger Dick Brann, a member of the Bay Conservation and Development Commission.

District 4 (51% D - 39% R)

Nielsen (R-I)	**146,686 (64%)**
Cibula (D)	81,158 (36%)

The Senate's minority leader rolled up wins both in his own district and around the state. His home-turf victory was the more impressive, however. Statewide, his party captured one seat (16th District) formerly held by a Democrat and helped independent Quentin Kopp overcome Democrat Lou Papan to move a second seat (8th District) from the Democratic column. But Nielsen's operation failed to oust its top targeted Democrats — Leroy Greene (6th) and Dan McCorquodale (12th).

District 6 (58% D - 33% R)

L. Greene (D-I)	**136,869 (61%)**
Smoley (R)	89,513 (40%)

Arguably, the dirtiest campaign not only in California but in the galaxy. Cited by David Brinkley and other national commentators for its level of nastiness. The result represents a massive failure for Republicans who began the campaign season by naming Leroy Greene the Democrat they most wanted to retire. On paper, it seemed they had an excellent chance. Greene was considered vulnerable because of his cantankerous nature and for his liberal voting record. The GOP candidate was a popular Sacramento County supervisor with as much name recognition as Greene, excellent political credentials and a hard-charging campaign style. But she and her consultants — Sal Russo and Doug Watts — punted the campaign by wallowing in the gutter. Their media campaign tried to portray Greene as encouraging children to smoke dope and as a friend of prostitutes and murderers. Smoley ignored her own strong record of public service to focus on Greene's perceived weaknesses. The campaign blew up in her face. For his part, Greene used photos of the often overweight Smoley that were particularly cruel. In the end, however, Greene came across as both hard-working and honest. By attacking his credibility, Smoley damaged her own.

Greene

District 8 (64% D - 23% R)

Kopp (Ind)	**80,791 (47%)**
Papan (D)	78,492 (46%)
Gray (R)	13,007 (8%)

The Democrat who ran to succeed Lou Papan in the 19th Assembly District of San Mateo County won with 74 percent of the vote. Papan, who represented the area for 14 years, lost his old Assembly turf to Quentin Kopp. It marked a stunning repudiation for Papan, reduced overnight from one of the state's most powerful lawmakers to an outsider. The race lived up to its pre-election billing as an expensive brawl between a feisty San Francisco supervisor and an assemblyman known as "the enforcer." Papan

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Kopp

outspent Kopp two-to-one, with a sizeable chunk of his money and campaign expertise coming from Assembly Speaker Willie Brown. Kopp, a former Democrat-turned-independent, was aided by Senate Republicans who hoped to woo the conservative Kopp's vote on key issues. They also persuaded their nominal candidate, Russell Gray, to withdraw from the race during the final week and endorse Kopp. The campaign itself was low-brow. One of Papan's hit pieces all but accused Kopp of being anti-Semitic for holding a fund raiser at a private club that Papan claimed didn't allow Jewish members. Kopp himself is Jewish, and the resultant brouhaha forced Papan to publicly apologize. Kopp later accused Papan of making "insider" loans to political supporters through a Millbrae bank Papan co-founded. That accusation prompted charges of libel from Papan's friends. Issues? What are issues?

District 10 (56% D - 32% R)

Lockyer (D-I)	**123,322 (71%)**
Bergondy (R)	49,609 (29%)

Despite negative publicity during his tenure, Bill Lockyer enjoyed his biggest victory.

District 12 (54% D - 35% R)

McCorquodale (D-I)	**88,780 (56%)**
Legan (R)	69,395 (44%)

Senate Republicans went after McCorquodale with a vengeance. They failed, despite spending over $1 million. McCorquodale himself had to pony up an equal amount, making this race five times more expensive than it was just four

McCorquodale

years ago when McCorquodale ousted incumbent Republican Dan O'Keefe. Republicans considered the incumbent too liberal for a district that heavily supported George Deukmejian. The race turned nasty in the home stretch, with Legan accusing McCorquodale of helping free criminals like Archie Fain and the incumbent linking Legan with former President Richard Nixon. Compared with other campaigns, however, this one seems almost high road. For instance, most of McCorquodale's TV ads never mentioned his opponent at all but focused on his strong stand against crime.

District 14 (51% D - 39% R)

Maddy (R-I)	**109,431 (69%)**
LeSage (D)	49,587 (31%)

This Godzilla-shaped district sprawls over seven counties, from Mariposa in the north to Santa Barbara in the south. Maddy, one of the Legislature's more elegant and wealthy members, racked up a substantial victory in all seven.

District 16 (54% D - 38% R)

Rogers (R)	**88,161 (52%)**
J. Young (D)	81,284 (48%)

As both parties' number one priority, the race to succeed retiring Democrat Walter Stiern cost in excess of $1.5 million. Republican Don Rogers, a four-term assemblyman used to tough districts, eked out a narrow win by capturing 57 percent of the vote in Kern County where two-thirds of the district's voters live. He lost in the

Rogers

three other counties (Kings, and chunks of San Bernardino and Los Angeles), including a 10,000-vote thumping in the Antelope Valley, Pasadena and Altadena sections of Los Angeles. His opponent, community college chancellor Jim Young, had to outspend Rogers just to equal Rogers' name recognition. In addition, Democrats have suffered a major erosion in voter strength over the past four years, with their registration margin falling from 58-33 to 54-38.

District 18 (47% D - 41% R)

Hart (D-I)	**117,410 (65%)**
Holmdahl (R)	59,650 (33%)
Wood (L)	2,771 (2%)

Want to know what evil lurks inside the anxiety closet of Senate Democratic honcho David Roberti? Gary Hart's flirting with the notion of doing something else. Hart has thought about running for governor or for Congress if Republican Robert Lagomarsino ever retires. Maybe he'd just like to chuck politics and return to teaching. Hart's personal popularity is the only reason this affluent, Santa Barbara coastal district stays in the Democratic column. Just this year, between June and October, Republicans registered 6000 more voters than did Democrats. If Hart leaves, there is probably only one Democrat who could hold the seat — Assemblyman Jack O'Connell of Carpinteria. That in itself poses an interesting dilemma for Democrats — O'Connell is about the only reason the 35th Assembly District stays Democratic.

District 20 (56% D - 35% R)

Robbins (D-I)	**96,829 (65%)**
Davis (R)	51,241 (35%)

A yawner for Robbins.

District 22 (58% D - 32% R)

Rosenthal (D-I)	**142,875 (68%)**
Sias (R)	60,418 (29%)
Russell (L)	3,567 (2%)
Kirk (P&F)	2,715 (1%)

Republican registration has been creeping up lately, but not enough to pry Rosenthal out of this liberal, largely Jewish district that includes Sherman Oaks, Beverly Hills and parts of Santa Monica.

District 24 (68% D - 22% R)

Torres (D-I)	**48,291 (72%)**
Prentiss (R)	16,061 (24%)
Brown (L)	2,311 (4%)

A district that is three-fourths Latino produced a stunningly low voter turnout.

District 26 (61% D - 30% R)

Montoya (D-I)	**94,146 (100%)**

Our June prediction proved accurate. Montoya by default.

District 28 (72% D - 19% R)

Watson (D-I)	**121,950 (79%)**
Vaquer (R)	32,790 (21%)

Tough turf for a Republican.

District 30 (67% D - 23% R)

Dills (D-I)	**79,709 (72%)**
Gray (R)	27,552 (25%)
Chauser (P&F)	3,155 (3%)

Ralph Dills was elected to the Senate in 1966, but that was not his first stint in Sacramento. The year Ralph Dills first came to the Legislature, "Gone With the Wind" was still being filmed, Winston Churchill was a back-bencher in Parliament, Charles de Gaulle was an obscure colonel in the French Army, David Roberti wasn't born yet and the Chicago Cubs won the National League pennant — 1938.

District 32 (43% D - 48% R)

Royce (R-I)	**93,860 (66%)**
Hoffman (D)	48,876 (34%)

What a difference four years can make. The last time Ed Royce ran for election — 1982 — this was a 51-37 Democratic district. Would you say they're growing Republicans in Orange County? The numbers might be closer if more of the district's Latinos registered to vote. They comprise about 37 percent of the population here.

District 34 (53% D - 37% R)

Ayala (D-I)	**92,292 (66%)**
Turner (R)	47,579 (34%)

A threatened Republican challenge to Ayala never materialized. Still, despite his sound victory, he has to be concerned with growing Republican registration in communities like San Bernardino, Pomona and Ontario.

District 36 (47% D - 43% R)

Presley (D-I)	**114,308 (61%)**
Richardson (R)	71,738 (39%)

For the sake of a little mischief, what if Governor Deukmejian offers Democrat Bob Presley another job — say, head of the Department of Corrections or secretary of the Health and Welfare Agency? What if Presley accepts? Could another Democrat win a special election to replace Presley? Now you know why David Roberti has an occasional migrane.

District 38 (34% D - 52% R)

Craven (R-I)	**177,628 (85%)**
Mill (L)	31,209 (15%)

Gentleman Bill Craven returns for his third term in the Senate.

District 40 (54% D - 34% R)

Deddeh (D-I)	**80,164 (69%)**
Hoover (R)	33,859 (29%)
Beard (P&F)	2,263 (2%)

Okay, for the sake of a little more mischief, what if President Reagan appoints Deddeh ambassador to his native Iraq? What if Deddeh accepts? This San Diego district is sliding at a leisurely pace toward Republicans, and if Deddeh leaves for a post in Baghdad it could turn the neighborhoods around downtown San Diego, Chula Vista and National City into an expensive battleground.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ASSEMBLY

Assembly Democrats did not fare well during the recent election, and the reason can be pegged to rising Republican registration and the sagging fortunes of Speaker Willie Brown's political operation, headed by Richie Ross. The Democrats' 47-33 advantage in the lower house was pared to 44-36, and a quick survey of California's political map shows several other districts kept in the Democratic column by the slender thread of incumbent popularity. All this has to make Speaker Brown and his cohorts a bit queasy as the crucial elections of 1988 and 1990 loom on the not-too-distant horizon.

In 1986 there were 11 "open" seats in districts where the incumbent either retired or ran for another office. Three of those districts were solid Republican, four were solid Democratic and four were marginal, favoring neither party. Republicans won eight of the 11 seats: the three GOP seats (3rd, 20th and 22nd); one of the supposedly solid Democratic seats (54th); and, more significantly, all four marginal districts (5th, 8th, 33rd and 72nd). Along the way, they very nearly ousted two Democratic incumbents — Dick Floyd in the 53rd and Steve Clute in the 68th around Riverside.

These results cannot be encouraging for Democrats. If Republicans can pick up five more seats between the elections of 1988 and 1990, they will take over the Assembly in time for the reapportionment scheduled after the 1990 U.S. census.

Five seats may sound like mission impossible, but a number of now-Democratic districts have experienced significant growth in Republican registration. Three of those districts (35th, 68th and 78th) could have gone Republican this year had they been open seats (one of them, the 68th, nearly did anyway). Three others (7th, 27th and 31st) have enough GOP strength to lean Republican if Democratic incumbents ever decide to pursue other lines of work. And seven *more* districts (24th, 25th, 26th, 39th, 40th, 53rd and 80th) have had noticeable shifts in voter registration from Democrat to Republican during the past two years. That makes 13 districts rapidly sliding toward Republicans but kept firmly (or not so firmly) in the speaker's pocket only because they have Democratic incumbents.

On the other side, there are only two districts where Republican incumbents keep districts in GOP hands (9th and 63rd), and one more district (54th) that Republicans won this year on what appears to be an electoral fluke.

Clearly, the pressure is on Democrats. The speaker, in a post-election press conference, declared that Democrats would still rule after the 1990 elections. But his words were based more on bravado than on performance, for he pegged Democratic control to the reelection of current incumbents.

Brown's rationale ignores the possibilities — like Jack O'Connell (35th) or Steve Peace (80th) running for the state Senate or Lucy Killea (78th) or Norm Waters (7th) or Tom Bane (40th) retiring or Steve Clute (68th) finally reaching the end of his rope against a formidable Republican challenger. It also discounts a long, cyclical trend of Republican gains that could threaten four Central Valley Democrats and imperil other party stalwarts like Dom Cortese (24th), Richard Katz (39th), Dick Floyd (53rd), Bane and Peace.

Finally, there is Brown himself. The speaker seems unwilling to recognize that he proved more of a liability than an asset to some embattled Democrats. Brown insists, often angrily, that he is a plus, even though Republicans campaigned successfully as much against the speaker as against Democratic candidates in places like Napa, Bakersfield and Sacramento.

But it was traditional Democratic neighborhoods around Bellflower, Lakewood and Long Beach that highlighted the speaker's problems, for it was there, in the blue-collar areas of the 54th Assembly District, that Brown used the pure power of money to ram a hand-picked candidate through the Democratic primary. And it was there the speaker's political operation lost a district where 65 percent of registered voters are Democrats.

The speaker's candidate was Ed Waters, son of Assemblywoman Maxine Waters, who moved into the district just days before the filing deadline and whose candidacy was created and fueled by Brown and Maxine Waters' treasuries. That the candidate was both Black *and* a carpetbagger was too much for the district to swallow — and Republican Paul Zeltner slipped into office despite being snubbed by his own party's Assembly caucus.

After the election Brown focused only on racism as a reason for Waters' defeat. He did not acknowledge the Assembly Democrats' role in foisting the wrong candidate — Black or white — on what should have been a loyal Democratic district. Nor did he say what his speakership or the Democratic Party has to offer to stem the Republican tide — besides reelecting incumbents. By 1990 that may not be enough.

District 1 (50% D - 40% R)

Statham (R-I)	**77,157 (71%)**
Caudle (D)	30,987 (29%)

Stan Statham's biggest fight was not with his Democratic challenger but with his caucus leader — Assemblyman Pat Nolan. Statham was one of a group of grumpy Republicans who didn't like the way Nolan and his lieutenants tried to ram hand-picked candidates through the party's primary last June (see primary results, CJ, July 1986). Statham and Nolan publicly buried the hatchet after Republicans picked up three seats in the lower house.

District 2 (57% D - 31% R)

Hauser (D-I)	**73,780 (68%)**
Kennedy (R)	35,458 (33%)

Hauser's easiest's election yet. He and the Democrats helped themselves immensely with an aggressive voter-registration drive after the June primary and have now solidified their hold on what had been a marginal district.

District 3 (45% D - 43% R)

Chandler (R)	**56,965 (57%)**
Marsh (D)	43,259 (43%)

This should be a safe GOP district. Democrats made noise about a serious run when incumbent Republican Wally Herger decided to seek a seat in Congress. Speaker Willie Brown helped Bud Marsh win the Democratic primary but left the colorful, rough-hewn rancher to his own devices for the general election. Without help from Assembly Democrats, Marsh was outspent five-to-one; not that Marsh was all that anxious to be identified with Willie Brown in a conservative, rural district. Chandler, the choice of those close to Minority Leader Pat Nolan, survived an expensive primary that became a battleground for various factions within the Assembly Republican caucus.

District 4 (57% D - 30% R)

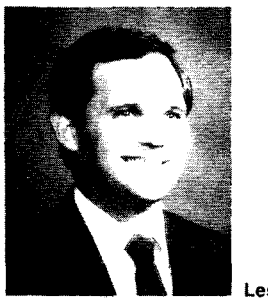
Hannigan (D-I)	**71,374 (75%)**
Hague (R)	24,397 (26%)

Hannigan is among those frequently mentioned as an eventual successor to Willie Brown as speaker of the Assembly. Meanwhile, he bides his time as chairman of the Assembly Revenue and Taxation Committee, an increasingly visible post in this era of tax reform.

District 5 (51% D - 39% R)

Leslie (R)	**67,272 (58%)**
Dugan (D)	45,734 (39%)
Carr (L)	3,841 (3%)

How to blow a district: First, you round up a candidate who does not live there. Then, you alienate local party loyalists by bullying other candidates out of the primary. Third, you spend oodles of money in the primary to defeat a fellow Democrat who does live in the district. In the general election, you face a challenger who



Leslie

nearly defeated your incumbent two years ago. Next, you give your candidate so much money he becomes known as a puppet for the speaker of the Assembly. And finally, you discover that your expensive, hand-picked candidate votes about as often as the Chicago Cubs win baseball games. Those responsible for this scenario were Speaker Willie Brown and his political poobah — consultant Richie Ross. The man who had his head handed to him was Democrat Jack Dugan who tried to hold the seat being vacated by Jean Duffy. On the surface, Dugan had impressive credentials for a conservative

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

district: retired Army colonel, head of the attorney general's crime-prevention unit, former director of the California Conservation Corps. But he had liabilities as well, including a late revelation that he failed to vote in 10 of the 17 previous elections. Although he outspent Republican Leslie, Dugan trailed in the polls throughout the campaign. The money ponied up for this seat was astronomical — well over $1 million between the two candidates.

District 6 (57% D - 34% R)

Connelly (D-I)	**71,157 (67%)**
Green (R)	35,663 (33%)

The quiet part of Sacramento County.

District 7 (51% D - 39% R)

Waters (D-I)	**81,602 (67%)**
Holm (R)	37,906 (31%)
Page (L)	2,952 (2%)

GOP registration continues to creep up on Norm Waters, but it doesn't matter since Republicans, too, vote for him.

District 8 (55% D - 36% R)

Hansen (R)	**71,458 (63%)**
Jadiker (D)	42,758 (37%)

Bev Hansen is something of a giant killer. First she survived a nasty Republican primary by defeating a candidate sponsored by Assembly Minority Leader Pat Nolan. Then she demolished a supposedly strong Democratic opponent sponsored by Assembly Speaker Willie Brown. Democrats actually missed the boat in this district two years ago. It was then that Ja-

Hansen

diker, an unknown and under-financed Lake County planning commissioner, came within 5000 votes of ousting incumbent Assemblyman Don Sebastiani even while being outspent four-to-one and getting no help from Speaker Brown. This year the speaker and his cohorts went all-out, pouring money and Richie Ross' expertise into Jadiker's effort. But without Sebastiani to kick around, the speaker may have been a liability. Although Brown helped his candidate outspend Hansen by nearly 50 percent, Jadiker was crushed. Two years ago, those resources probably would have toppled Sebastiani and put this district into the Democratic column.

District 9 (53% D - 33% R)

Filante (R-I)	**63,831 (55%)**
Willmann (D)	52,595 (45%)

The Democrats keep coming after Bill Filante, and he keeps turning them away. A moderate Republican, Filante won despite a strong Democratic voter-registration drive that added a net 5000 Democrats to the rolls between July and October. Yet he won convincingly in both Marin and Sonoma counties. An expensive race that cost nearly $900,000.

District 10 (58% D - 33% R)

Isenberg (D-I)	**70,692 (67%)**
Sullivan (R)	34,634 (33%)

With several members of the Democratic leadership leaving the Assembly, Isenberg's behind-the-scenes influence is expected to grow.

District 11 (65% D - 24% R)

Campbell (D-I)	**62,996 (75%)**
DeWitt (R)	21,614 (26%)

The Republican ran ahead of registration in the Democratic part of Contra Costa County.

District 12 (62% D - 24% R)

Bates (D-I)	**90,409 (72%)**
Udinsky (R)	30,227 (24%)
McCord (L)	1,856 (2%)
Mar (P&F)	2,771 (2%)

Another handy win for Berkeley's Tom Bates.

District 13 (73% D - 16% R)

Harris (D-I)	**58,553 (77%)**
Norman (R)	17,910 (23%)

Unlike previous elections, Harris had a challenger in 1986. Not a challenge, just a challenger.

District 14 (63% D - 26% R)

Klehs (D-I)	**63,878 (74%)**
Jones (R)	22,918 (26%)

A Democratic haven in the East Bay.

District 15 (37% D - 51% R)

Baker (R-I)	**79,503 (67%)**
Bennett (D)	38,455 (33%)

A slice of Alameda County and heavily Republican areas of Contra Costa County. Bill Baker's pond.

District 16 (69% D - 15% R)

Agnos (D-I)	**66,186 (85%)**
Woods (R)	8,929 (11%)
Weber (P&F)	2,967 (4%)

An impressive win for Agnos who now may be looking toward a real challenge — the 1987 San Francisco mayoral race.

District 17 (63% D - 20% R)

Brown (D-I)	**71,150 (71%)**
Corino (R)	24,943 (25%)
Hoy (L)	4,799 (5%)

Trivia question: Name one Assembly candidate who captured 71 percent of the vote and still came up a loser. Answer: Assembly Speaker Willie Brown. His 47-33 majority in the Assembly was pared to 44-36. He and his political wizard, Richie Ross, lost three open districts (5th, 54th and 72nd) previously held by Democrats and failed to gain anything held by Republicans despite a carload of money poured into those challenges (8th, 9th, 20th, 33rd). His political operation did win one open seat (18th) previously held by a Democrat and did reelect every Democratic incumbent, although one nearly lost — Steve Clute from Riverside. Nothing fatal in all this, just small cracks in Brown's hold on the speakership as both parties gear up for crucial 1988 and 1990 elections where control of the Legislature will determine who draws lines for the next reapportionment.

District 18 (54% D - 32% R)

Eastin (D)	**42,832 (57%)**
Mehan (R)	30,677 (41%)
Hanes (L)	2,164 (3%)

Speaker Brown's win. Thanks to a lot of his help, Union City Councilwoman Delaine Eastin breezed to victory over businessman Leo Mehan for the right to succeed former Democratic Assemblyman Alister McAlister, a loser in the primary for state controller. Eastin had a surprisingly easy time considering recent GOP registration gains and the conservative nature of a district which includes Fremont and the northern approaches to San Jose.

Eastin

District 19 (61% D - 26% R)

Speier (D)	**56,164 (74%)**
Rocco (R)	19,974 (26%)

Speier won this election in the June primary when she defeated Assembly Speaker Willie Brown's candidate — San Francisco cop and Daly City Councilman Mike Nevin. Speier gives

Speier

up her job as a San Mateo County supervisor. District voters were not kind to the Democrat who represented them for the past 14 years — Lou Papan who ran for a vacant seat in the 8th Senate District. The entire 19th Assembly District lies within that senatorial district, and Papan needed to carry his old turf big to offset opponent Quentin Kopp's popularity in San Francisco. Papan didn't carry it big. In fact, he lost it to Kopp. So much for old loyalties.

District 20 (45% D - 43% R)

Duplissea (R)	**55,016 (51%)**
Bacciocco (D)	52,885 (49%)

A $1.5 million race that turned nasty toward the end and where former Stanford professor Ed Bacciocco came very close to becoming the first Democrat to represent this area in 100

Duplissea

years. The campaign reflected the high brow-blue collar split of a district that includes wealthy areas like Woodside and Portola Valley and working-class neighborhoods in Millbrae, San Mateo and Redwood City. Bacciocco's campaign, heavily funded by Assembly Speaker Willie Brown, drew attention to Duplissea's lack of experience in government. Duplissea attacked Bacciocco's poor attendance record while a San Mateo County supervisor. Bacciocco earned the endorsement of former

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

GOP Congressman Pete McCloskey. Duplissea was backed by the man who gave up this seat to run unsuccessfully for the U.S. Senate — Bob Naylor. In the end, Bacciocco's money and experience weren't enough to overcome the area's solid Republican credentials.

District 21 (53% D - 32% R)

Sher (D-I)	**58,260 (70%)**
Philips (R)	20,726 (25%)
Grey (L)	3,284 (4%)
DeSio (P&F)	1,039 (1%)

Byron Sher keeps piling up ever-more-impressive victories.

District 22 (41% D - 46% R)

Quackenbush (R)	**56,434 (55%)**
Ventura (D)	43,071 (42%)
Baker (L)	2,902 (3%)

Democrats thought for a time that an upset was possible in this Silicon Valley district, but the numbers provided too formidable a wall. District

Quackenbush

incumbent Ernie Konnyu moved on to Congress, and his place will be taken by Charles Quackenbush, an articulate, mediagenic self-made millionaire whose last name is right out of a Marx Brothers movie.

District 23 (61% D - 26% R)

Vasconcellos (D-I)	**42,458 (68%)**
Knapp (R)	17,890 (29%)
Watson (L)	1,189 (2%)
Williams (P&F)	1,094 (2%)

The Assembly's champion of "wellness" returns to Sacramento.

District 24 (54% D - 34% R)

Cortese (D-I)	**48,750 (64%)**
Sandoval (R)	25,052 (33%)
Webster (L)	2,537 (3%)

Teacher Jack Sandoval did better against Cortese in 1984 — by 13,000 votes. Cortese himself polled 17,000 more votes in '84 as only 55 percent of voters bothered to cast ballots in Santa Clara County this year.

District 25 (53% D - 35% R)

Areias (D-I)	**49,751 (71%)**
Gilmore (R)	18,601 (27%)
Hinkle (L)	1,595 (2%)

The Law of Inverted Campaign Gunk: The more Republicans gain registration in this district, the more impressive Democrat Rusty Areias' victory margins.

District 26 (57% D - 35% R)

Johnston (D-I)	**62,810 (74%)**
Biggs (R)	21,914 (26%)

The Law of Incumbent Safety: Was it only six years ago that Stockton's Pat Johnston won this seat after a recount?

District 27 (56% D - 36% R)

Condit (D-I)	**56,429 (73%)**
DeYoung (R)	19,509 (25%)
Gerringer (L)	1,230 (2%)

Like other Central Valley districts, this one seems marginal — on paper.

District 28 (53% D - 33% R)

Farr (D-I)	**73,793 (72%)**
Bosshard (R)	28,392 (28%)

GOP hopes for capturing this district rest with one man — but Clint Eastwood probably does not want to serve in the California Assembly.

District 29 (41% D - 47% R)

Seastrand (R-I)	**70,054 (72%)**
Weber (D)	25,544 (26%)
Steddum (L)	1,288 (1%)

Seastrand's in a rut. He keeps winning with 72 percent of the vote.

District 30 (61% D - 30% R)

Costa (D-I)	**40,141 (67%)**
Anderson (R)	19,427 (33%)

Jim Costa was rolling merrily along toward reelection when he was arrested in Sacramento for soliciting a prostitute. (At the time, he had one hooker in his car and was soliciting a second.) This gave Republicans a glimmer of hope, but Costa apologized and apparently his constituents were willing to forgive his peccadillo and forget his greed.

District 31 (56% D - 36% R)

Bronzan (D-I)	**53,960 (70%)**
Farrington (R)	22,899 (30%)

Another example of the Law of Inverted Campaign Gunk. The more Republicans add registered voters, the bigger Bronzan's victory margin. Still, if the registration trend continues, this central Fresno County district could become a political battleground.

District 32 (45% D - 46% R)

Jones (R-I)	**69,447 (100%)**

A hard-fought, bitter campaign. Jones was lucky to survive. Wait 'til '88, and all that.

District 33 (52% D - 40% R)

Harvey (R)	**40,487 (51%)**
Fallgatter (D)	36,822 (46%)
Gifford (L)	2,370 (3%)

Confusing. Very, very confusing. And expensive. Although this Kern and Tulare county seat has been held by Republicans since 1966, the Democrats made a concerted effort to snatch it away with attorney Tom Fallgatter. Fallgatter comes from a politically-active family. Unfortunately, some of them were active on behalf of his opponent, Trice Harvey. Assembly Speaker Willie Brown poured so much money and effort behind Fallgatter that Harvey's campaign began running a television spot featuring two puppets — one white, one black — with the theme: "How much money does it take to become political bedfellows?" For his part, Harvey had to suffer indignant hit pieces — from his own party during the final days of the June primary (see primary results, CJ, July 1986). Despite spillover from Harvey's nasty primary fight and more than $400,000 from Speaker Brown, Fallgatter fell 4000 votes short. The governor's coattails may have helped. Deukmejian won both Kern and Tulare counties by 40 and 45 points, respectively.

District 34 (44%D - 47% R)

Wyman (R-I)	**70,553 (70%)**
Dearborn (D)	30,090 (30%)

Deukmejian's coattails probably didn't matter here.

District 35 (49% D - 38%)

O'Connell (D-I)	**59,277 (66%)**
Urdahl (R)	29,341 (33%)
Bakhaus (L)	1,326 (2%)

One of only two districts in the state with less than 50 percent Democratic registration to send a Democrat to Sacramento (the other, the 78th in San Diego). And Republicans are closing fast. In June, this was still a 50-36 split. By November, it was 48.5-38. O'Connell works hard for this Santa Barbara-Ventura county coastal district and has built enough of a personal reputation to hang on through 1988. If Republicans continue to gain at the same pace, however, even he may be hard-pressed to survive in 1990.

District 36 (39% D - 50% R)

McClintock (R-I)	**74,048 (73%)**
Nekimken (D)	25,333 (25%)
Driscoll (L)	1,817 (2%)

Opportunities for a sure move up the political ladder are rare, and McClintock's caution may have cost him just such a chance last June. McClintock thought about running for Congress when Bobbi Fiedler gave up her seat to run for the U.S. Senate. But he decided not to risk it when Bob Hope's son, Tony, entered the congressional primary. Hope then lost to a candidate McClintock might have beaten. Now, he's stuck waiting for the new incumbent — Republican Elton Gallegly — to give him another opportunity.

District 37 (38% D - 52% R)

Wright (R-I)	**77,839 (75%)**
Hesse (D)	24,967 (24%)
Dull (L)	1,571 (2%)

A Republican fortress.

District 38 (42% D - 50% R)

La Follette (R-I)	**68,164 (68%)**
Lit (D)	32,770 (33%)

Democratic registration is on a steady track — downward.

District 39 (57% D - 35% R)

Katz (D-I)	**42,875 (60%)**
Thoreson (R)	28,060 (40%)

An expected potboiler fizzled here thanks in part to an aggressive Democratic registration drive in the San Fernando Valley that added a net 3000 more voters to the rolls between June and October. Katz also campaigned aggressively and improved his victory margin over Thoreson by four points over 1984.

District 40 (54% D - 36% R)

Bane (D-I)	**59,436 (73%)**
Dennis (R)	22,246 (27%)

Bane returns to Sacramento and to a new job. On November 6th Speaker Willie Brown named him chairman of the powerful Assembly Rules Committee, replacing Lou Papan. Bane won't be the same forceful, combative enforcer Papan has been, although his new position is expected to improve Bane's already considerable reputation as a money-raiser.

District 41 (40% D - 51% R)

Nolan (R-I)	**64,084 (67%)**
Vollbrecht (D)	29,042 (30%)
Bennett (P&F)	2,935 (3%)

Some people are just plain lucky. Irish luck, dumb luck, blind luck, call it what you will, Pat Nolan had it in 1986. During the June primary, he and his close lieutenants (Nolanistas) spent a bucket of money trying to cram hand-picked candidates down the throats of several Northern and Central California districts. They mostly failed, thus alienating the primary winners, depleting everyone's campaign treasuries on the eve of the fall election and sparking rumors of a coup d' caucus by disgruntled Assembly Republicans. But Nolan landed on his feet, mainly because he helped three GOP candidates he had opposed in June defeat their Democratic opponents. Another Republican — Paul Zeltner

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in the 54th District — also won despite Nolan's refusal to help. When the dust cleared, Republicans had produced a net gain of three seats and enough party euphoria to help mend fences and save Nolan's job.

District 42 (39% D - 52% R)

Mountjoy (R-I)	**74,441 (100%)**

A rough-and-tumble election. Broken bodies everywhere. Oh, it was awful. Simply awful.

District 43 (54% D - 36% R)

Friedman (D)	**62,299 (60%)**
Schuyler (R)	39,102 (38%)
Honigsfeld (P&F)	2,510 (2%)

This election was decided in whatever smoke-

Friedman

filled room the Berman-Waxman political machine met in after incumbent Gray Davis announced his candidacy for state controller.

District 44 (59% D - 30% R)

Hayden (D-I)	**64,368 (59%)**
Stout (R)	40,194 (37%)
Donner (L)	2,160 (2%)
Berman (P&F)	2,076 (2%)

Hayden's best showing to date, although his percentage of the vote was still lower than almost every "safe" incumbent.

District 45 (58% D - 30% R)

Margolin (D-I)	**59,716 (68%)**
Olson (R)	23,287 (27%)
Meyer (L)	1,474 (2%)
Kushner (P&F)	2,931 (3%)

Hollywood, playground of the stars and Burt Margolin.

District 46 (59% D - 28% R)

Roos (D-I)	**26,615 (71%)**
Wright (R)	8,441 (22%)
Bates (L)	753 (2%)
O'Brien (P&F)	1,878 (5%)

Some facts about who does and doesn't vote in California. There are 340,000 or so residents in this Los Angeles district, 50 percent of whom are Latino. In the entire district, only 72,000 people are registered to vote. Of the registered voters, only about 4300 are Latino — less than 2 percent of the Latinos who live in the district. Oh, yeah — Mike Roos' biggest victory to date.

District 47 (83% D - 11% R)

Hughes (D-I)	**34,299 (89%)**
Brown (R)	4,144 (11%)

As we boldly predicted in July, Governor Deukmejian's coattails didn't extend into this heavily Black, heavily Latino section of Los Angeles.

District 48 (84% D - 10% R)

Waters (D-I)	**41,929 (85%)**
Foster (R)	6.276 (13%)
Castaneda (L)	1,322 (3%)

The Waters family won one and lost one. Mama Maxine won big. Son Edward could have used a few of her spare votes over in the 54th District.

District 49 (72% D - 19% R)

Moore (D-I)	**68,795 (78%)**
Givens (R)	17,344 (20%)
Gong (P&F)	1,959 (2%)

Gwen Moore quietly rolls up another huge win.

District 50 (76% D - 17% R)

Tucker (D-I)	**56,567 (80%)**
Wiley (R)	14,444 (20%)

Tucker's second straight 80-20 victory.

District 51 (38% D - 52% R)

Felando (R-I)	**73,558 (69%)**
Mercant (D)	29,351 (28%)
Dobson (L)	3,428 (3%)

Palos Verdes, Torrance, Hermosa Beach, Redondo Beach and part of San Pedro — solid Republican territory for Gerald Felando.

District 52 (44% D - 48% R)

Hill (R-I)	**58,939 (69%)**
Prather (D)	26,307 (31%)

Barring a major scandal, Frank Hill can represent this district as long as he chooses.

District 53 (58% D - 31% R)

Floyd (D-I)	**34,813 (53%)**
Fiola (R)	28,377 (43%)
Kramer (P&F)	2,445 (4%)

Someone up there (Sacramento, for instance) doesn't like Dick Floyd, the Assembly's resident cigar-chomper. They proved it with a last-minute hit job that nearly cost Floyd his job. A two-point shift in registration from Democrats to Republicans between June and October helped fuel what became a surprisingly heavy campaign against an incumbent considered invulnerable. Among the hit pieces that arrived on the day before the election was a first-class letter accusing Floyd of "giving in to the powerful underworld drug industry" and all but pushing the district's children into the arms of drug dealers. The letter was signed "Ronald Reagan" and written on White House stationery. Needless to say, Dick Floyd returns to Sacramento a bit surlier than when he left in September.

District 54 (65% D - 27% R)

Zeltner (R)	**36,309 (50%)**
Waters (D)	33,659 (46%)
Murdock (P&F)	2,612 (4%)

A stunning defeat for Democrats. This is the seat being vacated by former Speaker pro Tempore Frank Vicencia. The district is 65 percent Democratic. It is also diverse: one-third Black, a growing Latino population centered around Paramount and white, blue-collar workers in communities like Bellflower and Lakewood. The two candidates were also different. Zeltner, 61,

Zeltner

is a long-time resident, a Lakewood city councilman and a captain with the Los Angeles sheriff's department. Waters, 30, is the son of Assemblywoman Maxine Waters and moved to Compton for the express purpose of running for the Assembly. He spent a fortune of his mother's money (as well as the money of her colleague, Speaker Willie Brown) to win the primary and was all but assured of victory in the general election. Even Minority Leader Pat Nolan wrote off this district and refused to help Zeltner who got his money from Los Angeles County Supervisor Deane Dana. But the best laid plans went suddenly awry, and Waters lost. Three reasons: Governor Deukmejian ran very well in blue-collar neighborhoods; Waters was unable to overcome the tag of "carpetbagger," mother's apron strings and ties to Assembly Speaker Willie Brown; and Zeltner's long-standing ties with the district. There is a fourth reason, of course, but few are willing to talk about it. Speaker Brown talked about it the day after the election — a racist, anti-Black vote coupled with the fact that Blacks themselves did not go to the polls.

District 55 (68% D - 22% R)

Polanco (D-I)	**28,936 (60%)**
Lutz (R)	13,596 (28%)
Foster (L)	1,860 (4%)
Zinzun (P&F)	3,484 (7%)

Richard Polanco has run more times this year than a marathoner. First, there was an April 8th special election to replace incumbent Richard Alatorre who had been elected to the Los Angeles City Council. Polanco failed to get 50 percent, plus one vote and was forced into a run-off election on the same day as the June primary. Polanco won the run-off and was sworn in as a member of the Assembly on June 5th. He also won the Democratic primary, which entitled him to run again in November. He won't have to run now until 1988.

District 56 (77% D - 14% R)

Molina (D-I)	**20,778 (84%)**
Clark (R)	3,948 (16%)

Another heavily Latino district that doesn't vote much.

District 57 (60% D - 29% R)

Elder (D-I)	**39,212 (70%)**
Barnes (R)	15,356 (28%)
Gundersheimer (P&F)	1,314 (2%)

As if Dave Elder didn't have enough advantages, his opponent died six days before the election.

District 58 (40% D - 49% R)

Brown (R-I)	**69,292 (67%)**
Staggs (D)	31,567 (31%)
Haak (P&F)	2,183 (2%)

Dennis Brown dominates this shoreline district, which includes communities like Signal Hill, Seal Beach and a piece of Long Beach.

District 59 (63% D - 28% R)

Calderon (D-I)	**45,617 (71%)**
Martinez (R)	18,339 (29%)

Calderon's most impressive victory to date.

District 60 (60% D - 31% R)

Tanner (D-I)	**27,070 (53%)**
Velasco (R)	22,881 (45%)
Argall (L)	806 (2%)

Republicans for years have said that Tanner could be vulnerable to a popular Hispanic, and they were right — partly. Tanner's margin of victory dropped by 27 percentage points from 1984 as El Monte City Councilman Henry Velasco made this a spirited and interesting race. But the overall numbers are still too great for a Republican — any Republican. Tanner's real challenge may come someday from a Latino Democrat.

District 61 (41% D - 48% R)

Leonard (R-I)	**66,702 (70%)**
Valdez (D)	24,092 (25%)
Hart (AIP)	4,199 (4%)

Bill Leonard's constituents continue to appre-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ciate his quiet, thoughtful approach as a state assemblyman.

District 62 (41% D - 50% R)

Lancaster (R-I)	**66,410 (72%)**
Wendt (D)	25,444 (28%)

Bill Lancaster returns for his eighth tour of the Assembly.

District 63 (58% D - 34% R)

Grisham (R-I)	**42,091 (58%)**
White (D)	29,993 (42%)

Until Paul Zeltner upset Ed Waters in the 54th District, this was the most Democratic district in the state represented by a Republican. Until 1984 it was represented by a Democrat — Bruce Young who became a Sacramento lobbyist. Incumbent Wayne Grisham is a former congressman, his challenger a Norwalk councilman.

District 64 (36% D - 54% R)

Johnson (R-I)	**65,769 (73%)**
Lisa (D)	24,465 (27%)

Johnson used his campaign funds to help other Republicans. He sure didn't need it for his own reelection in this heart-of-Orange-County district.

District 65 (43% D - 47% R)

Bader (R-I)	**53,303 (69%)**
Jackson (D)	24,562 (32%)

To illustrate how fast things are moving the Republicans' way in this crazily-shaped Los Angeles County district, just three years ago, Democrats outnumbered Republicans. Jackson ran against Bader in 1984 — and lost by about the same margin.

District 66 (59% D - 31% R)

Eaves (D-I)	**44,293 (65%)**
Turner (R)	23,887 (35%)

A San Bernardino County district that seems to be in a state of flux when it comes to voter registration. Republicans have made some gains, but not enough to imperil incumbent Eaves.

District 67 (31% D - 59% R)

Lewis (R-I)	**70,475 (75%)**
Anderson (D)	23,480 (25%)

A solid win for John Lewis in one of the most Republican districts in California, centered around Orange County communities like Tustin, Villa Park and Orange.

District 68 (52% D - 38% R)

Clute (D-I)	**43,451 (50%)**
Webb (R)	41,714 (48%)
Schmidt (P&F)	2,084 (2%)

To quote Satchel Paige, never look back, Mr. Assemblyman Clute somebody might be gaining on you. That somebody is the Republican Party in this Riverside County district. In 1984 the Democrats' registration edge was 53-36. Now it's 52-38 and fading as more Republicans move into new subdivisons near the city of Riverside. For the November election, a Democratic voter-registration drive netted 5224 more for their side. Republicans countered with 6417, and this has been the trend of late. It all spells trouble forever for Steve Clute. It cost Assembly Speaker Willie Brown a bundle to keep Clute in Sacramento, and it won't get any less expensive in future years.

District 69 (33% D - 55% R)

Frizzelle (R-I)	**68,702 (70%)**
Baldwin (D)	29,540 (30%)

A yawner for Frizzelle.

District 70 (28% D - 62% R)

Ferguson (R-I)	**87,240 (72%)**
Gray (D)	33,545 (28%)

The most Republican Assembly district in California. Look closely at the numbers then check Districts 46 and 56. More Democrats voted for Geoff Gray — the loser in this district by 54,000 votes — than voted for Democratic winners Mike Roos and Gloria Molina.

District 71 (43% D - 47% R)

Allen (R-I)	**56,702 (64%)**
Rosen (D)	29,292 (33%)
Weber (P&F)	2,066 (2%)

An Orange County district where Democratic strength is a contradiction in terms.

District 72 (51% D - 40% R)

Longshore (R)	**29,096 (56%)**
Griset (D)	23,297 (45%)

Three was a charm for Republican Dick Longshore who lost to Democrat incumbent Richard Robinson in 1982 and 1984. Two years ago Robinson outspent Longshore three-to-one yet won by only 256 votes. That narrow escape prompted Robinson to go elsewhere. (He lost to Robert Dornan in the 38th Congressional

Longshore

District.) Democrats thought they could hold the seat with Griset, the 30-ish mayor of Santa Ana — Orange County's second largest city where 36 percent of district voters live. Assembly Democrats contributed over half of the nearly $500,000 Griset spent on his campaign, giving the GOP candidate fodder for his charge that Griset was beholden to the "liberal" Assembly speaker, Willie Brown. Longshore himself spent over $350,000, with a sizeable chunk coming from Assembly Republicans. Although the race was close to the end, Longshore emerged on top mostly because this urban, Orange County domino was ready to fall to Republicans.

District 73 (42% D - 49% R)

Kelley (R-I)	**70,746 (67%)**
Powell (D)	35,693 (34%)

Kelley begins his fifth term in the Assembly.

District 74 (32% D - 55% R)

Frazee (R-I)	**81,200 (87%)**
Ellis (L)	11,704 (13%)

The Libertarians' best showing.

District 75 (34% D - 52% R)

Mojonnier (R-I)	**72,984 (69%)**
Lasky (D)	27,412 (26%)
Murphy (L)	3,553 (3%)
Schoenberg (P&F)	1,497 (1%)

Republican registration improved substantially during the past two years in this coastal district in San Diego County. Oddly, Mojonnier's margin of victory declined.

District 76 (34% D - 54% R)

Bradley (R-I)	**77,732 (74%)**
White (D)	25,646 (24%)
Thornsberry (P&F)	1,934 (2%)

Bradley begins his third term representing places like Escondido in San Diego County and Palm Desert and Rancho Mirage in Riverside County.

District 77 (37% D - 51% R)

Stirling (R-I)	**64,664 (74%)**
Smelko (D)	22,877 (26%)

Stirling's first opponent since 1980.

District 78 (44% D - 43% R)

Killea (D-I)	**52,831 (57%)**
Cantos (R)	37,416 (40%)
Shea (L)	1,338 (1%)
Ulmschneider (AIP)	1,060 (1%)

Another $500,000 battleground. Republicans looked at the numbers here and figured the district was theirs. But incumbent Lucy Killea, long active in San Diego politics, has bi-partisan support not reflected in voter registration. Democrats hold this seat because of her personal popularity, and it will fall like a ripe plum if she decides to retire.

District 79 (59% D - 29% R)

Chacon (D-I)	**33,612 (65%)**
Ard (R)	16,012 (31%)
Wright (L)	1,146 (2%)
Wertheimer (P&F)	1,055 (2%)

Chacon had an easy time beating back Ard, former president of the Black Council of Churches and a Jesse Jackson delegate to the 1984 Democratic National Convention in San Francisco.

District 80 (53% D - 36% R)

Peace (D-I)	**37,239 (65%)**
DuBose (R)	19,709 (34%)
Myrseth (L)	736 (1%)

The Assembly's killer tomato returns.

Advertisement

For A Full Service Petition Campaign Organization, Consider . . .

We gathered and processed **over 4,000,000 signatures** this season.
We have experience with State and Local Initiatives, Referendums, Recalls and Plebiscites.
We not only process, we design and print, cage and submit.
We know volunteer coordination and paid signature solicitation.
We have experience in Multi-State Petition Coordination.

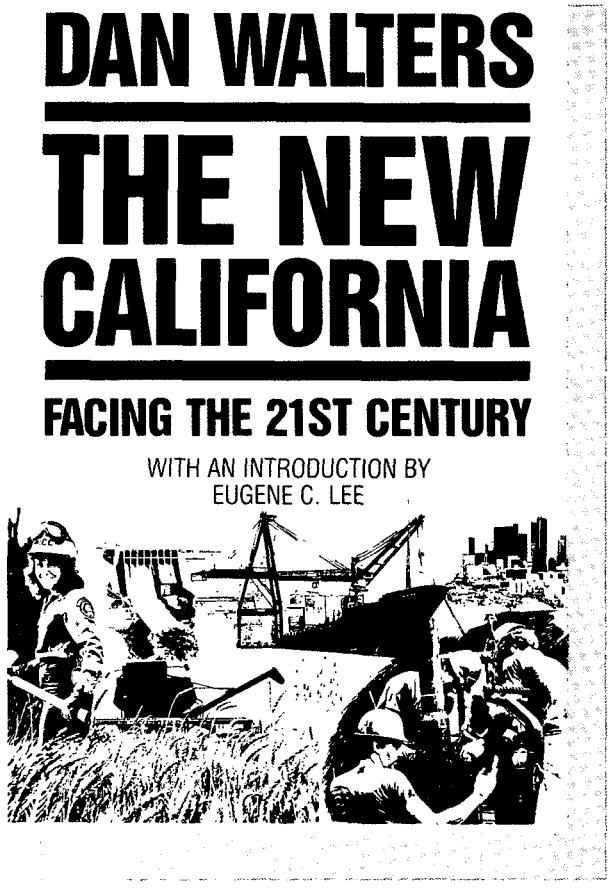
Telephone (818) 991-6491
31220 LaBaya, Suite 110
Westlake Village, California 91362
Non Partisan Since 1969

FGK F G Kimball Company, inc.
Petition Management

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Advertisement

Two new books from CALIFORNIA Journal

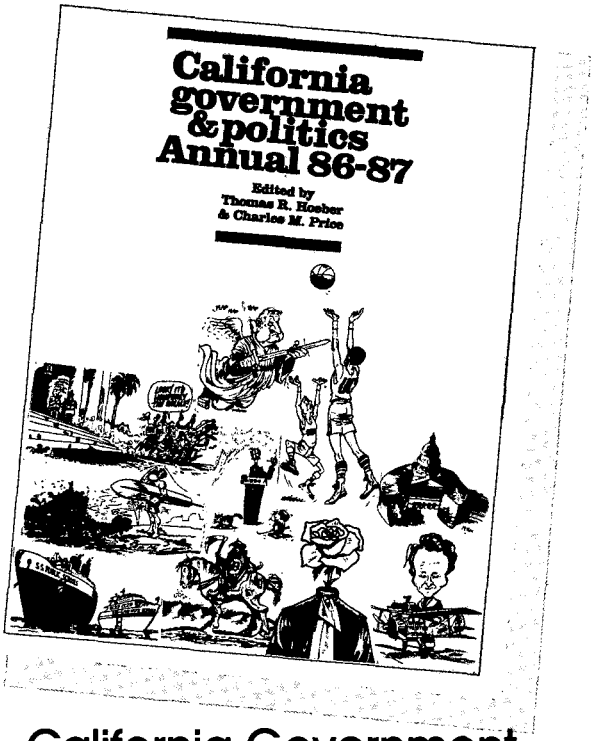


The New California — Facing the 21st Century

by Dan Walters

with an introduction by Eugene C. Lee

The *Sacramento Bee's* well-known political correspondent, Dan Walters, recently completed a 9000-mile odyssey through California's 58 counties which resulted in a 15-part series in the *Bee.* The articles describe the socioeconomic future of the nation's largest state and the political implications of these trends. This lively and insightful series will be available in book form June 15th. The 180-page book contains numerous charts with detailed political and demographic data. Price: $8.95.



California Government and Politics Annual

Thomas R. Hoeber and Charles M. Price

The brand-new-17th edition of *California Journal's* **California Government and Politics Annual** is now available. The **Annual** has become a standard resource book for college and university courses in state and local government. But it is also a valuable tool for individuals seeking an overview of the California system of Government and current political issues.

The 1986-87 edition contains the popular "Quick Guide to State Government and Politics" and chapters on the various branches of government, lobbying; parties, politics and elections; citizen democracy; and local government. The 128-page large-format book is edited by Thomas R. Hoeber of the *California Journal* and Charles M. Price, political science professor at Chico State University and author of several books on state and local government. The price: $5.95.

Please add 6% sales tax to all orders. Write your order in on the handy insert card, or write your own order and send it with payment (Visa and MasterCard numbers accepted) to California Journal Press, 1714 Capitol Avenue, Sacramento 95814.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE POT 'O GOLD

Is elective office a road to riches?

By ELIZABETH JONES and LESLEY WALKER

There was once a deputy district attorney who decided to better himself by becoming a member of the California State Assembly. When he first ran for office, he gladly showed the local press copies of his income tax returns and other financial records. These showed that, excluding his salary, his only substantial possession was a well-used Ford.

A few years ago, he retired after ten years in the Assembly. By then he was regularly telling the press his finances were "none of your business." But he did confide, strictly off the record, that he had just about made his first million dollars.

The money was all made legally, and the man had always paid his way in business dealings. His on-the-side law practice had been modest but lucrative, and some friends met along the way had made him a partner in three or four very profitable land deals. All in all, his term as a public servant had been financially rewarding despite claims to the contrary.

His case is not unusual. A study of financial statements filed by long-term members of the state Legislature and constitutional officeholders shows that a substantial number have been financially successful during their terms in office. Yet, without exception, they all say there would have been even more money to make had they not been saddled with the distractions of holding public office. Records on file with the Fair Political Practices Commission indicate that there might very well be financial opportunities for a lawmaker or elected official on the lookout.

On January 1, 1975, the Fair Political Practices Commission was created as part of the

Elizabeth Jones and Lesley Walker are California Journal *interns.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

How they did

A sampling of long-time officeholders

NAME	1975 ASSETS	1985 ASSETS	TYPES OF ASSETS
Constitutional Officers			
Deukmejian, George (R)	0	31,000-310,000	stock
Eu, March Fong (D)	31,000-310,000	111,000-210,000	property stock
McCarthy, Leo (D)	21,000-210,000	2,000-20,000	stock
Unruh, Jesse (D)	156,000-660,000	840,000-1,200,000	property, real estate
Senators			
Ayala, Ruben (D)	11,000-110,000	21,000-210,000	property, bank stock
Beverly, Robert (R)	162,000-720,000	354,000-840,000	property, various stock, law firm
Boatwright, Dan (D)	232,000-520,000	301,000-1,210,000	property, law firms, communication stock
Carpenter, Paul (D)	2,000-20,000	102,000-1,020,000	property, investment company, stocks
Craven, William (R)	18,000-180,000	81,000-810,000	property, stock
Deddeh, Wadie (D)	36,000-360,000	844,000-1,240,000	property, stock
Dills, Ralph (D)	122,000-320,000	143,000-530,000	property, stock
Ellis, Jim (R)	*232,000-520,000	179,000-1,070,000	property, stock
Garamendi, John (D)	141,000-510,000	240,000-600,000	property, stock, trust
Greene, Bill (D)	12,000-120,000	20,000-200,000	property, stock
Greene, Leroy (D)	20,000-200,000	101,000-110,000	stock, engineering consulting
Hart, Gary (D)	10,000-100,000	233,000-530,000	property, stock, trust
Maddy, Ken (R)	27,000-270,000	950,000-1,400,000	property, stock, land development, trust
Marks, Milton (R)	176,000-860,000	208,000-2,080,000	property, stock, trust
Mello, Henry (D)	*185,000-950,000	1,025,000-1,250,000	property, stock
Montoya, Joseph (D)	2,000-20,000	161,000-710,000	property
Petris, Nicholas (D)	17,000-370,000	568,000-1,180,000	property, stock, law firm
Presley, Robert (D)	21,000-210,000	240,000-600,000	property, ranching interest
Richardson, H. L. (R)	71,000-710,000	411,000-510,000	property, stock
Vuich, Rose Ann (D)	*47,000-470,000	250,000-700,000	property, various stock, tax consulting
Assembly			
Agnos, Art (D)	11,000-110,000	310,000-400,000	property, real estate, ranch
Bane, Tom (D)	11,000-110,000	321,000-510,000	property, stock
Brown, Willie (D)	13,000-130,000	343,000-730,000	property, stock, law firm, land development
Chacon, Peter (D)	0	20,000-200,000	property
Hughes, Teresa (D)	30,000-300,000	102,000-1,020,000	property, stock
Robbins, Alan (D)	132,000-420,000	over 800,000	property, real estate
Roberti, David (D)	0	10,000-100,000	property
Rosenthal, Herschel (D)	51,000-410,000	122,000-320,000	property, bank stock
Russell, Newton (R)	27,000-270,000	81,000-810,000	various stocks
Statham, Stan (R)	*114,000-240,000	146,000-560,000	property, stock, business owner
Vasconcellos, John (D)	14,000-140,000	3,000-30,000	various stock
Vicencia, Frank (D)	1,000-10,000	420,000-600,000	property, insurance holdings, insurance firm
Waters, Maxine (D)	40,000-400,000	271,000-910,000	property, stock, bonds
Waters, Norman (D)	*136,000-460,000	307,000-370,000	property, bank stock, ranching

Source: FPPC reports

*1976 assets listed

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Political Reform Act (passed by voters as Proposition 9, June 1974). The Act called for the disclosure of all outside income received by California public officials. Statements detailing these income sources were to be made available for public scrutiny. The law currently requires state and local government officials to disclose sources of outside investments, income, gifts and honoraria.

But the annual FPPC forms only require legislators and other public officials to list income sources in broad categories of "$1000 – $10,000," "$10,000 – $100,000" and "over $100,000." These categories make it difficult to determine precise values for various holdings.

Salaries and so on

After a 10 percent raise effective when the new Legislature convenes on December 1, 1986, the salary of a California legislator will still be a fairly modest $37,105 per year. Lawmakers also receive tax-free per diem expense payments of $75 per day for each day the Legislature is in session (even when they are home on weekends), the use of leased cars and other tax-free perks and off-the-book forms of compensation that add a significant touch of color to the financial picture of life in the Legislature.

State law sets no limits on the amount of compensation state officials may receive from private sources and organizations. Some of it is income earned from outside business interests; some are honoraria for giving speeches; some are gifts with monetary value. According to FPPC reports, 1985 was a banner year for receiving gifts, continuing a trend that has seen the overall value of gifts increase by nearly 500 percent during the past five years.

In 1985, for instance, Assembly Speaker Willie Brown received $642 worth of wine as well as more than $2000 in tickets to various performances, from Prince to the Academy Awards. Democratic Assemblyman Louis Papan, a Millbrae Democrat, traveled to Saudi Arabia and China, thanks to donations by those countries' governments. Papan was outdone by Democratic Senator John Foran who went to Germany, France, Switzerland, Australia and Iran. State Treasurer Jesse Unruh, among other gifts, received $3600 worth of Super Bowl tickets, a $600 membership to a private club and a $100 membership in the Fruit-of-the-Month-Club.

Many legislative leaders have also shown a propensity for supplementing their salaries with substantial honoraria income. For example, when Jesse Unruh speaks, people listen — and pay. In 1985 the state treasurer received $45,457 in honoraria and related travel expenses — more than his state salary of $42,500. Heading the list of well-paid orators is Willie Brown who received $48,550 for speeches in 1985, including a check for $5000 from National Medical Enterprises. A lobbyist for the Los Angeles-based hospital chain said no legislative favors were attached to the speaking engagement.

The perquisites of legislative life seem to go beyond gifts and tax-free extras. A review of statements filed with the FPPC shows that, of 52 legislators and constitutional officers who have served in Sacramento for 10 years or more, 21 appear to have added significantly to their inventory of assets. Their income and investment successes have come from a variety of sources, ranging from inheritance to wise investment choices to the entrepreneurial spirit. Notwithstanding the origins of financial success, these officials claim that their time in public service has been a deterrent to their potential for monetary gain.

The word from California lawmakers is that the financial life of a public figure is one of many handicaps. "I'd be a millionaire today if I had remained in the private sector,"

Advertisement

GOLDEN GATE UNIVERSITY

Golden Gate University, one of the west's major centers for professional education in management, public administration and law, offers an opportunity to earn a graduate degree at more than fifteen California locations, including Los Angeles, Monterey, Orange County, Sacramento, San Diego, Santa Barbara, and Santa Clara County, as well as at the main campus in downtown San Francisco. Golden Gate's multi-campus organization provides a top-quality education at a learning center convenient to home or work, and allows uninterrupted educational progress in case of job relocation.

Three semesters per year are offered at Golden Gate. Students may register for classes that begin in January (spring semester), June (summer), and September (fall). Classes are held mainly in the evenings and on weekends to accommodate the needs of in-career professionals. Instructors are drawn from the University's full-time and teacher/practitioner faculties, the latter being practicing specialists in their respective professional fields.

The Graduate School of Public Administration

The Graduate School of Public Administration provides graduate professional education for persons preparing for administrative careers in the public sector; and, for those already in government service, its programs are designed to provide opportunities for career advancement and enhancement. The School has one of the largest graduate public administration programs in the nation with an enrollment of approximately 1,000 degree candidates.

For further information regarding course offerings, faculty, and registration for the upcoming semester, write or telephone the University at any of the locations listed below.

Dean of Admissions
Golden Gate University
536 Mission Street
San Francisco, CA 94105
(415) 442-7272

Resident Dean
GGU-Los Angeles
818 W. 7th Street
Los Angeles, CA 90017
(213) 623-6000

GGU-San Diego
see L.A. address

Director
GGU-Orange County Center
4000 MacArthur Blvd.
Suite 3000
Newport Beach, CA 92660
(714) 833-1093

Resident Dean
GGU-Sacramento
660 Bercut Drive
Sacramento, CA 95814
(916) 447-0350

Resident Dean
GGU-Monterey
550 El Camino El Estero
Monterey, CA 93940
(408) 373-4176

Director
GGU-Santa Barbara Center
6464 Hollister Ave.
Goleta, CA 93017
(805) 968-9554

Director
GGU-Santa Clara County Center
5050 El Camino Real
Los Altos, CA 94022
(415) 961-3000

Golden Gate University admits students without regard to age, sex, race, creed, color, physical handicap, or national or ethnic origin.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Advertisement

MANAGEMENT SERVICES FOR ASSOCIATIONS INCORPORATED

Specialized Services
- Communications
- Conventions, Meetings and Seminars
- Legislative Awareness
- Long Range Planning
- Membership Campaigns
- Recordkeeping
- Trade Shows

Professional Management for Trade Associations and Related Organizations

Affiliated Offices in Los Angeles
1106 K Street • Suite 340
Sacramento, California 95814
916/442-0608

Advertisement

California Common Cause
Presents
Political Satirist
Mark Russell
"The Laughter and Song of Politics" in Concert

Tuesday, January 6 in Sacramento

Wednesday, January 7 in Los Angeles

For more information
Sacramento (916) 443-1792
Los Angeles (213) 387-2017

©1985 Al Hirschfeld. Drawing reproduced by special arrangement with Hirschfeld's exclusive representative. The Margo Feiden Galleries, New York.

said Assemblyman Art Agnos, a San Francisco Democrat. A former social worker, Agnos has expressed strong feelings about his lack of opportunity for financial gains because he is a lawmaker. "My position has been a handicap. People just don't want to get involved with politicians . . . ."

Yet Agnos is a classic example of the public official who begins with very little and emerges 10 years later with solid financial security. Agnos, the son of Greek immigrants, arrived in San Francisco on a Greyhound bus after selling his broken-down Volkswagen for $500. Today, according to FPPC reports, his investments include real-estate holdings worth well over $300,000. Angelo Tsakopoulos, a wealthy Sacramento businessman, has become his personal benefactor. A land developer and member of the local Greek community, Tsakopoulos has provided Agnos with interest-free loans, investment management and financial counseling, investing $30,000 of Agnos' money in long-term land deals, and tending and reinvesting the money carefully.

Former Assembly Speaker pro Tempore Frank Vicencia sought to improve his financial outlook when he formed his own insurance agency — Gene List Insurance Services — in 1978, four years after being elected to the Legislature. Vicencia, who did not seek reelection in 1986 after twelve years in the Legislature, was chairman of the Assembly Governmental Organization Committee — the panel responsible for handling legislation affecting gambling and alcoholic-beverage sales. During his tenure in office, Vicencia maintained insurance clients with ties to gambling and alcohol while repeatedly pushing legislation that benefited those industries.

In 1980 he introduced a bill that gave Hollywood Park 20 additional days of racing while reducing the tax rate for all forms of horse racing — a substantial boon for one of his clients, Epicurian Inc., food and beverage concession at Hollywood Park.

One year later, the assemblyman authored a bill that would have required brewers to designate an exclusive distributor for each area while banning retailers from purchasing large quantities of beer at discount rates. For the next two years, Vicencia's insurance agency received at least $75,000 in commissions from two large Southern California beer distributors.

An FPPC investigation was prompted by a February 1985 story in the *San Jose Mercury News* disclosing that Vicencia had failed to report income received by his insurance agency from a poker parlor known as the California Commerce Club. After the assemblyman submitted an amendment to his FPPC form (that included the club and several other "forgotten" clients) the FPPC concluded that Vicencia was "negligent" when he failed to abide by state laws requiring him to disclose all income derived from insurance clients. The commission decided not to fine or prosecute the assemblyman and instead said the incomplete forms were the result of an oversight by one of Vicencia's aides.

The engaging life of a public official brings dual implications for outside financial activities. Hobnobbing with successful businessmen, lobbyists and money-planners infers the potential for lucrative contacts and investment hints from "the pros." Yet lawmakers contend that their responsibilities to the public take up the time necessary for the development of gainful investment and outside business interests.

"I gave up a very lucrative law practice to pursue a legislative career," said Democratic state Senator Dan Boatwright of Concord. "You've got to practice law to make money."

Assembly Speaker Willie Brown agrees. "I was a very successful practicing attorney before, and I have lost some of my edge because I am not available to try cases," he said recently.

For others, public office means giving up previous livelihoods. Republican Assemblyman Stan Statham, a former Chico-area television newscaster, gave up his job upon en-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tering California's lower house. The assemblyman, who represents the largest district in California, says he is swamped with serving nine counties and has little time for outside financial interests. Still, Statham's current assets include two travel-planning businesses and lucrative rental properties. Statham attributes any outside financial success to his wife, Lovey, who gave up her work as a real estate broker to assist the lawmaker with his campaigning. On the side, she finds time to act as the family's financial manager.

Says Statham: "My wife is an entrepreneur's entrepreneur. She's always looking for a new business venture of some sort."

Yet for the lawmaker concerned with avoiding potential conflicts of interest, even small entrepreneurial ventures require a watchful eye. Recently, Lovey Statham began putting together a Hawaii vacation package through one of Statham's Chico travel businesses. Yet when the assemblyman discovered that many of those interested in the trip were also Sacramento lobbyists, he advised his wife to cancel the vacation offer and avoid any potential conflict.

Some state officials, however, find time to devote to outside financial success. Former Democratic state Senator Paul Carpenter (recently elected to the State Board of Equalization) and Democratic state Senator Milton Marks of San Francisco are two who have continued to keep on top of the stock market. For instance, Carpenter made $8000 on stock options on one September day in 1984 when the Dow Jones Averages dropped.

Marks, another active investor, held an interest in 62 different common stocks in 1985. Twenty-two of these were bought and subsequently sold during the year, 20 were acquired and kept, and 15 previous holdings were diversified.

Republican state Senator H.L. Richardson of Glendora, one of Sacramento's most conservative lawmakers, mixes business and politics. In 1976 the senator founded Computer Caging, an operation that collects, records deposits and reports the thousands of campaign contributions sent to various government employees. The company also contracts with private clients to handle direct-mail solicitations and has yielded an increasing income in recent years.

Richardson has also made money from the gold market. In 1977 he acquired the Mother Lode Gold Mine, and in 1981 he added five mining stocks. Richardson said he has a good grasp of economics and government which enables him to foresee coming inflation and to take advantage of that phenomenon. He says he invested in silver and gold on the advice of an economist who came to Sacramento to give financial advice to the senator and some of his colleagues. Richardson attributes his current successes to smart investments, a conservative lifestyle and family money.

Success may also come with time. Of career public officials, Jesse Unruh has been in office for most of the past 28 years. Although now well off, the treasurer does not draw a direct correlation between success and public office.

"I'm 64 years old, so I deserve to have made some money over the years," he said in a recent interview. "If I had not made such successful investments (prior to election) I wouldn't be able to make it today."

Prior to his election to public office, Unruh was involved in radio, academia and with a hospital corporation. He stated that in every instance, he made comparatively more money than in his present position. "I'd be making two times as much money if I weren't in the Legislature, and that's true with near everyone I know," Unruh said.

Twenty years in the Legislature for Senator Wadie Deddeh, a Bonita Democrat, may attest to this sentiment. Deddeh said he invested in property before entering public life and at a time when interest rates were low. "Now I couldn't

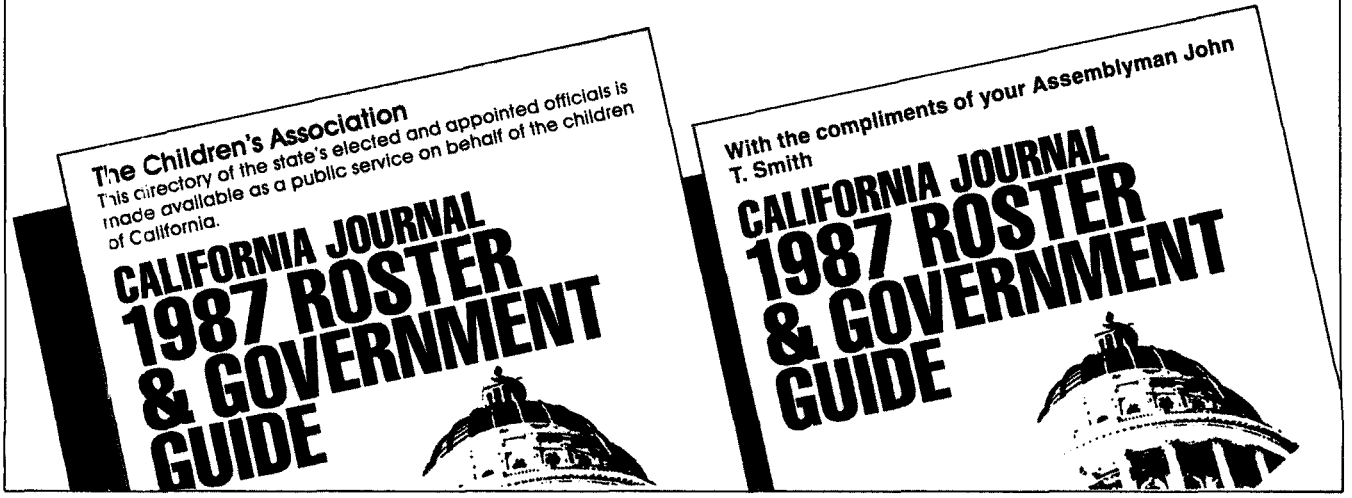
Advertisement

CUSTOM IMPRINTING FREE 1987 ROSTER

California Journal's best-selling ROSTER will be completely revised and updated for the 1987-88 legislative session. It will be included free in the February issue for all subscribers.

We are offering a special opportunity to organizations and individuals who place quantity orders for reprints early. If you order 2500 or more copies at the usual rates before January 15th, we will print the name of your organization, your logo and a short message on the cover **free of charge.**

Act now to take advantage of this unique free educational and promotional opportunity. Please contact Karin Petersen for more information and orders. (916) 444-2840.


The Children's Association
This directory of the state's elected and appointed officials is made available as a public service on behalf of the children of California.
CALIFORNIA JOURNAL
1987 ROSTER
& GOVERNMENT
GUIDE
With the compliments of your Assemblyman John T. Smith
CALIFORNIA JOURNAL
1987 ROSTER
& GOVERNMENT
GUIDE

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Advertisement

"Meet Me at the BROILER for Dinner."

The Best Early Dinner in the Capital.

444-3444

1013 J STREET
SACRAMENTO, CA 95814

Advertisement

GALLAGHER & ASSOCIATES, INC.

Direct Mail Agency For Proposition 63

G&A

Gallagher & Associates, Inc.
218 North Lee Street
Alexandria, Virginia 22314
(703) 683-3635

afford it," he said. "I have no intention of buying more (property). It's sell, sell, sell." According to FPPC forms, Deddeh's current assets may be more than $1 million.

Some lawmakers make money the old-fashioned way — they marry it. Take Republican state Senator Ken Maddy of Fresno. In 1981 Maddy married Norma Foster, heir to the Foster Farms chicken empire. His bride's trust consisted of stock worth "over $100,000" (but probably in the millions), two land-development interests and seven properties. Later, Mrs. Maddy expanded these to include a successful beauty boutique and a race-horse breeding farm. Senator Gary Hart, a Santa Barbara Democrat, experienced a similar windfall when his wife's trust matured.

Horatio Alger

There are a remarkable number of Horatio Alger stories among today's lawmakers. Senator Boatwright, for one, is the son of an Arkansas sharecropper and grew up on a small farm in the Ozark Mountains. His family moved to California in search of work, settling in Vallejo where ten-year-old Boatwright found his first job selling ice cream bars. Boatwright went on to receive a degree from Boalt Hall School of Law at UC Berkeley, eventually gaining partnership interests in four Concord law firms.

Despite the sacrifices, the 56-year-old lawmaker is a wealthy man, thanks in part to several controversial land-development deals in and around Contra Costa County.

Assemblywoman Maxine Waters, a Los Angeles Democrat, is another rags-to-riches story. One of 13 children, Waters grew up in a St. Louis ghetto. "I've lived in and around poverty and understand the difficulties that human beings have when they're locked into the inability to earn money, to be educated and to get someone to listen to them," she says of her formative years.

Today, Waters is arguably the most powerful woman in state government. She is also a landlord who receives over $90,000 in rent annually. Her financial success has coincided with her 10- year stint in the lower house; yet when asked to comment she attributes her success to her husband. Waters is married to Sidney Williams, a former football player who now works for Mercedes Benz of Hollywood.

And then there is Speaker Brown. The San Francisco Democrat grew up picking cotton and berries in a small East Texas farming community. He recalls outdoor toilets, hand-me-down clothing, making soap and chopping wood for fuel. Today, after serving in the lower house for 22 years, Brown's property and investments are worth between $343,000 and $730,000, according to FPPC records. Most of his wealth was acquired after 1977.

Brown began his law practice before entering the Legislature in 1964. At the time, he represented clients from San Francisco's seedy Tenderloin district — prostitutes, pimps, junkies and other small-time criminals. Today, he caters to a more up-scale clientele, like the Southern Pacific Railroad, contractors and public figures such as San Francisco Giants' pitcher Vida Blue. Brown wears $1500 suits, throws himself huge birthday parties with Hollywood's high-profile stars, drives expensive cars and maintains an overall extravagant lifestyle. Yet the speaker, like many of his long-term legislative colleagues, says public office has been a detriment to private business ventures and activities.

Executive Director Walter Zelman of Common Cause, disagrees. Zelman says lawmakers devote too much time to outside income sources, and he isn't sympathetic to the complaints of "financially impoverished" lawmakers.

"It's hard to believe that a position in the Legislature is never beneficial, and that the position doesn't offer opportunities to make contacts, gain ideas and learn about potential investments," he said. "Some of these people make a substantial amount of money."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The California Journal Holiday Bookstore makes giving easy and inexpensive

Reporting: An Inside View, *by Lou Cannon.* How many of us know what really goes on behind the scenes in the complex process that determines what is and what isn't fit to print? Anyone interested in the workings of the press during the post-Watergate era will find *Reporting: An Inside View* fascinating reading. 1977. 6 x 9, 308 pages. $9.95 cloth, $4.95 paper.

California Government and Politics Annual, 1985-86. Published every year, the *Annual* consists of reprints of *California Journal* articles covering the various branches of government, elections, political reform, lobbying, taxation, local government, the environment and much more. The book also includes a "Quick Guide to California Government and Politics." 8½ x 11, 128 pages. $5.95 paper.

California Public Administration, 2nd Ed., *by T. Anthony Quinn* and *Ed Salzman.* This guide to the state's bureaucracy contains sections on the impact of Proposition 13 top executives, regulatory agencies, Legislature, judicial system, education and the bureaucracy. The book also contains diagrams showing the legislative process, the court system and the state's administrative agencies. 1982, 8½ x 11, 112 pages. $4.95 paper.

Reagan, *by Lou Cannon.* The definitive biography of President Ronald Reagan.

"**Reagan** is a complete picture of the man and those around him, a fair but unsparing portrait of Reagan good and Reagan bad. It is a book which historians will treasure, written by a superb journalist who has been watching Reagan for years."

— John Chancellor

The 464-page hardcover book, published by Putnam in 1982, lists at $18.95. It is available to **Journal** readers at $9.95, the same price as the paperbound edition.

The California Oath Controversy *by David P. Gardner.* The fascinating account of the 1949-1952 loyalty-oath controversy at the University of California, "a nadir in the history of American academic freedom." Hardcover, 329 pages, 1967. List price: $16.50. New discount price: $4.95.

Cartoon History of California Politics, *by Ed Salzman and Ann Leigh Brown.* An entertaining history of the state as drawn by political cartoonists from Nast to Conrad. This handsomely bound book contains 119 cartoons, most of them covering a full-page. An ideal gift for yourself or a friend. 1978, 8 x 8, 156 pages, paperback. New discount price: $3.95.

Almanac of State Government and Politics, 1985-86. Fourth edition. Contains 193 photographs and biographies of the state's leaders, maps, historical information on all branches of state government, election statistics and population information and much more. 200 pages. $5.95 paper.

Binder: How about a binder to collect and preserve your *Journals*? A handsome gold-stamped naugahyde binder to hold one year's *Journals* is $8.95 (1970-86 dates available or no date).

Index: A yearly index to the *California Journal* for fast and easy research turns your magazine into a state government reference library. $2.95 per year.

Please add 6% sales tax to all orders. Use the handy insert card to place orders. Or just write your own order and send it with payment (Visa and MasterCard numbers accepted) to California Journal Press, 1714 Capitol Ave., Sacramento 95814.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Perspective from WASHINGTON

By Leo Rennert

Monuments to durability

Of all the Republican losses in the fight for control of the Senate, none was as painful to the White House as Democrat Alan Cranston's reelection victory in California. President Reagan, who threw everything into a strenuous — but futile — campaign to retain the Senate, made California his first priority. That's where he kicked off his two-month cross-country blitz and that's where he ended it — with two final appearances for Republican Congressman Ed Zschau in Orange County. In part, these were sentimental journeys — with Reagan returning to his homebase for a last political hurrah to ask long-time supporters to "win one more for the Gipper." But Reagan's all-out exertions for Zschau also were prompted by fierce antipathy to Cranston. Here was the climax of a 20-year grudge match between two old political warhorses who think the worst of each other.

IT ALL BEGAN IN 1966 when Cranston, as state controller, took a leading role in trying to stem the Reagan conservative steamroller. In the final days of that campaign, when Democratic Governor Pat Brown was headed for certain defeat, Reagan successfully turned his guns against Cranston and finished him off as well. But Cranston bounced back two years later and began a Senate career that is now headed for a fourth term. During all these years, there was no letup in the deep enmity between the two men. Their hostile feelings were not just political but intensely personal and ideological. Cranston never would have made his quixotic bid for the White House two years ago if anyone besides Reagan had been president. Each man believes the other is a radical menace to the Republic. Unlike many Democrats who played a more timid game, Cranston repeatedly went on the attack against Reagan's domestic and foreign policies. For his part, the president, who has a long memory, was itching to retire Cranston from the political scene before leaving the White House. That's why he went after the senator with such unusual ferocity in the final hours of the campaign, even delivering a low-blow accusation that Cranston, by opposing some defense expenditures, had "played fast and loose with the lives" of American servicemen. When the votes were counted, it was Cranston who had beaten his old nemesis and avenged 1966. For the senator, the victory was doubly sweet. Not only did he come out on top against Zschau, but as Reagan begins to fade into the sunset, Cranston returns to a Democratic-controlled Senate where he will have more opportunity to flex his muscles as the number two leader of the majority party than he did during Reagan's first six years in Washington when the upper house was in GOP hands.

The White House was not the only place to feel the sting of Cranston's win. Political commentators who had written Cranston's obituary were stunned. At 75, he was supposed to be too old in a state where youth is revered. He was too liberal at a time when California was turning conservative. He was too old-fashioned in this swinging high-tech age. His protruding cheek bones made him look cadaverous and, worse, untelegenic. His disastrous 1984 presidential bid would come back to haunt him. And this time, Cranston was not blessed by right-wing opponents unable to attract centrist votes. Here was a youthful Zschau, at 46 the epitome of the new California — a political moderate, high-tech entrepreneur, self-made millionaire. The future was ready to bury the past. The Kennedyesque, new-generation denouement was waiting in the wings. But it was not to be. A funny thing happened on the way to Zschau's coronation.

First of all, many pundits overlooked the fact that Cranston was able to tap a wider base and more loyal support than his opponent. The senator had prepared for this battle for 18 years. In fashioning his razor-thin victory, he mobilized a wide array of constituencies for whom he had worked hard in the Senate — labor, Hollywood, conservationists, educators, government workers, Jews, Blacks, Hispanics, women, peace groups. He also picked up many IOUs from business, trade, high-tech and banking interests. When the chips were down, Cranston had an ample cushion on the left and plenty of maneuvering room in the middle. For Zschau, organizing a winning coalition remained an elusive goal. Cranston immediately put him on the defensive by spotlighting a mercurial, "flip-flop" voting record on military, foreign policy, environmental and other issues.

BUT ZSCHAU'S SHIFTING POSITIONS were symptomatic of a more fundamental handicap — the growing fragmentation of the Republican Party. If he tilted toward the center, he offended the conservative wing. If he moved rightward, as he did in the final weeks, he risked a backlash from his moderate flank. At the end, the White House quite accurately diagnosed that Zschau still was suffering from disaffection on the right and hoped to rescue him with Reagan's last-act appearances in Orange County — California's conservative heartland. But that also was a confession that Zschau, on the very eve of the election, still had not taken full command of his own party. It was the same signal of frustration one might get if a Democratic president felt it necessary to round out his campaign in San Francisco. On election day, Cranston barely squeaked through. But that's of little consolation to Zschau and the GOP. Politics is not a game of horseshoes. As it turned out, the closeness of the vote reflected a poor turnout in Republican strongholds. Zschau was effectively beaten by conservatives who stayed home — the very thing Reagan feared most. Cranston's people showed up, while Zschau still had not built a following of his own. In that sense, Zschau's defeat foreshadows the main problem facing the GOP in 1988 — how to maintain the Reagan coalition without Reagan. By his tremendous popular appeal, Reagan managed, in his races for governor and president, to fuse all elements of the GOP and pick up considerable support from independents and Democrats. But the Cranston-Zschau race showed this is not a transferable asset. The Reagan coalition may be more one man's achievement than a harbinger of enduring realignment.

Cranston's durability was matched in California's House contests where not a single seat switched from one party to the other. The Democrats' 27-18 majority control of the delegation remains a durable testament to another giant of the last two decades — the late San Francisco Congressman Phil Burton and his reapportionment plans for the '70s and '80s. While the rest of the country zigged and zagged, California put aside its reputation for restless change and opted for continuity in choosing its lineup for the 100th Congress.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

COMING IN JANUARY . . .

The California ROAST

SACRAMENTO'S MOST ENJOYABLE POLITICAL EVENT!

On the Grill:

SENATOR BILL CAMPBELL

January 27th, 1987
Sacramento Community Convention Center

Watch this Space for Further Details in the
January Issue of the CALIFORNIA JOURNAL

The California Roast — An Annual Tradition!
A Benefit for the Coro Foundation and Capitol Focus
(For More Information Call 415/863-4601, 213/623-1234, or 916/444-2840)

Courtesy of the California Center

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE

CORPORATE CONNECTION

YOUR BUSINESS PASSPORT TO THE CALIFORNIAS

To make your business traveling hassle-free and economical, we've got the Corporate Connection. It's simple: we guarantee you a deluxe room at a fixed rate for one year at any of our hotels, from Northern to Southern California.

Plus, we give you bonuses like:

- complimentary continental breakfast and beverages
- complimentary newspaper every morning
- free lodging for accompanying spouse and children

And to keep everything running smoothly, we feature ample conference and banquet facilities, restaurant dining, swimming pool and in-room movies.

So join the Days Inn Corporate Connection. Call any of our hotels direct for a descriptive brochure/application. Or fill out the coupon below and send it to us directly.

We put you in the right place at the right price!

Our nine locations and special Corporate Connection rates for 1986:

SACRAMENTO/ DOWNTOWN
$39
916/446-4140

SACRAMENTO/ RANCHO CORDOVA
$46
916/635-4535

SAN FRANCISCO BAY BRIDGE
$52
415/547-8414

SAN FRANCISCO AIRPORT
$49
415/340-1733

OAKLAND AIRPORT
$50
415/638-8022

SANTA CLARA
$64
408/988-2888

MONTEREY
$45*
408/394-1343

LOS ANGELES AIRPORT
$49
213/673-2311

SAN DIEGO
$33
619/425-0562

Also look for us in Reno, Nevada.

*Surcharge applies on Friday and Saturday.

A Better Place to Stay . . . for Less!

DAYS INN

YES, I want to become a DAYS INN CORPORATE CONNECTION CLUB member. I understand that there is no membership fee.

Name: _____ Firm Name: _____

Business Address: _____ City: _____ State: _____ Zip: _____

Business Telephone: (_____) _____ (Extension _____)

Clip and mail to the attention of Anita Kramer, VP of Sales and Marketing, DAYS OF THE WEST, INC., 11020 White Rock Road, Suite 250, Rancho Cordova, CA 95670.

CJ 9/86

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED